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The Plowman's Tale

The c. 1532 and 1606 Editions of a Spurious
Canterbury Tale

Mary Rhinelanders McCarl



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THE PLOWMAN'S TALE

THE C. 1532 AND 1606 EDITIONS
OF A SPURIOUS CANTERBURY TALE

MARY RHINELANDER McCARL

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For Henry, who never lost faith in the Pelican,
For Francesca Constance, the scholar of the new generation
and in memory of
Constance, who loved the history of Tudor England



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Acknowledgments

My interest in the *Plowman's Tale* was first raised when I was reading seventeenth-century New England probate inventories, and was struck that Thomas Dudley, father of the "Tenth Muse" Anne Dudley Bradstreet, had carried a copy of *Piers Plowman* across the Atlantic with him. I had recently finished editing a seventeenth-century notebook of relations of conversion of the first generation of Puritans in America. I was moving outward to explore their ownership of printed books of the first half of the sixteenth century, almost a century before the Great Migration to New England.

This research was in the context of seminars in the Program of the History of the Book in America, then run by David D. Hall at Boston University. I am most grateful to him and to Hugh Amory, then of the Houghton Library, who made possible my acquisition of microfilms of the probate records of Suffolk and Middlesex counties, Massachusetts, of the seventeenth century. My project was an examination of book ownership among all classes of immigrants. Although the results of this research do not appear overtly in this edition of the *Plowman's Tale*, my work was stimulated by questions posed while formulating my strategies in this project.

In a sense, as well, this edition is in response to the questions posed in Wilbur K. Jordan's seminar at Harvard thirty years ago. Although in those days I considered myself a medievalist, concentrating on Italy, I prepared Tudor-Stuart England as a field. I have come back again and again to ponder what makes men philanthropic, and how have the objects of philanthropy changed over time. This, of course, is key to the understanding of the Lollards as well as the early Protestants.

Beginning fifteen years ago, I became a professional librarian and archivist, specializing in the arrangement and description of book and manuscript collections. For the last six years I have been an independent scholar, working in the field of printing history. I am most grateful to Harold F. Worthley, of the Congregational Library in Boston, who gave me my first job as a librarian and taught me to appreciate the seventeenth-century Puritans. Many old friends at the New England Historic Genealogical Society have encouraged me over the years, especially Ralph J. Crandall and Nathaniel N. Shipton.

The collections of the Houghton Library at Harvard were key to the research for this edition. The material that had been assembled there for the second edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue*, both sixteenth-century editions and reference materials, gave me an unprecedented base on which to work out some tentative answers to questions of the printing history of the 1533 edition. Hugh Amory made it possible for me to consult the scrapbooks of photocopies of historiited initials assembled by F.S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer. I was able to examine sixteenth-century volumes printed by Thomas Godfray and his contemporaries at the Folger Library as well. Members of the staff of the Huntington Library, the owner of the unique copy of the 1533 edition, answered my long distance questions. I have yet to examine the book personally.

The Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas provided a microfilm of the only manuscript of the *Plowman's Tale*, probably prepared to be bound into the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works*. Laetitia Yeandle of the Folger helped me date the manuscript and the staff of the Rare Book Collection of the Harvard Law Library helped me narrow down the specialized legal handwriting.

The audience of a presentation on the edition, participants at the meeting *William Tyndale: Church, State and Word* at the Catholic University of America and at the Folger, July 1994, had very helpful comments. Early papers on some of the issues raised by printing and owning medieval works in a Puritan context were given at the 1991, 1992 and 1993 meetings of the Southeastern Medieval Association.

Above all, I and independent scholars like me, without research funding or a secure base, have to be grateful for the enormous

effort that has gone into microfilming pre-1640 books printed in the English-speaking world. Without this resource, the project would never have been to a conclusion. The staff, particularly Tinker Dunbar and Eddie Luster, of the Interlibrary Loan Department of the University of Alabama at Birmingham, worked diligently to procure rolls of film and books for me.



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Introduction

We are on the road to Canterbury. The Host is being his usual profane self. The Parson objects to his swearing. The Host says viciously, "I smell a loller in the wynde." The Shipman (or Squire) replies, "He wolde sowen some diffyculte/ Or sponge cockel in our clene corne."¹

At the time that Chaucer wrote these lines, another poet was at work, turning the metaphor on its head, writing the longest poem in English that presents the Lollard's² side of the argument about the

¹From the *Man of Law's Epilogue* or *Shipman/Squire's Tale Prologue*, in the facsimile of the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, edited by Derek Brewer. London: Scolar Press, 1969. Repr. 1978. Not all manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* have this *Prologue* to the Shipman's/Squire's Tale (or *Epilogue* to the Man of Law's Tale) but the 16th century printed editions all contained it. Hudson remarks that Chaucer, writing in the 1390s "has deliberately chosen to surround his Parson with a suggestion of Wycliffism, a suggestion that no contemporary reader or listener could have missed." (Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, 392.) The parson's Tale, with its insistence on confession before a priest, is entirely orthodox.

²The derivation of the word was from a Middle Dutch term for mumblers or mutterers. It was first, ca. 1300, applied to a fraternity, called the Lollebroeders, who devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the poor. "Usually it was taken to connote great pretensions to piety and humility, combined with views more or less heretical." "Lollard" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second edition on Compact Disk for the IBM PC. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. By 1390 it was applied to followers or sympathizers of John Wycliffe. John Gower's 1390 *Confessio Amantis*, "This new secte of Lollardie." Ed.

definition of the true church.

The poem begins:

A sterne stryfe is stered newe
 In many stedes in a stounde
 Of sondrie sydes that be sewe
 It semeth that some ben vnsou[n]de
 For some be great growen vngrounde
 Some ben souble/ symple and small
 Whether of hem is falsere founde
 The falsere foule mote hym befall
 (53-60)

The false seeds are Popes, Cardinals, Prelates, all the official hierarchy of the church, all Peter's successors. The true seeds are the harmless, gentle Lambs of God, called by their enemies Lollards. By an irony of sixteenth-century religious and political history, this poem became attributed to Chaucer as the *Plowman's Tale*³, and from 1542 until 1775 both points of view co-existed in the *Canterbury Tales*. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the proto-Protestant Chaucer was the accepted Chaucer, the Chaucer of Spenser and Milton. This introduction will briefly outline how this came about.

G.C. Macaulay. Early English Text Society, Extra series, 81. Vol. I, 14. Thomas Wright published a Latin poem *Dissipa gentes quae bella volunt, Domine Jhesu*, which Wright dates to 1381. Stanza four begins, "Lollardi sunt zizania,/ Spinae, vepres, ac lollia,/ Quae vastant hortum vineae." *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History Composed During the Period from the Accession of Edward III to That of Richard III*. London: Longman Green, 1859, v. 1, 232.

³For an excellent discussion of all the Chaucerian Apocrypha, see Russell A. Peck, *Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose and Boece, Treatise on the Astrolabe, Equatorie of the Planetis, Lost Works and Chaucerian Apocrypha: An Annotated Bibliography, 1900 to 1985*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, 243-355. The *Plowman's Tale* is discussed 301-307.

Contents of the Poem

The poem is a Lollard work of the 1390s or early fifteenth century, cast in terms of a debate between a Pelican (the figure of the suffering Christ) and a Griffon (the worldly current church) on the nature of the true church. From the first stanza, the Pelican, citing the parable of the wheat and the tares (the *lolia*), playing on the false analogy *lolia/lollard*, makes perfectly clear that he is a spokesman for the persecuted heretics.⁴ The poem, although billed as a debate, is largely a diatribe against the worldliness of the clergy.⁵ Throughout the poem the Pope, as the head of the official, yet from the point of view of the Lollards, heretical church is referred to as Antichrist. The poem is not apocalyptic, it looks not so much to the *Book of Revelation* as to the *Epistles of John*.

⁴Anne Hudson, the greatest current scholar of Wycliffism, sums up the Lollard beliefs: "The centre-piece was the primacy of scripture. From this sprang the theology of the eucharist, of confession and absolution, the rejection of clerical temporalities, of the papacy and of all forms of private religion, the doubts about the legality of images, pilgrimages, war and oaths, and the demand that neither civil nor canon law should counter the plain import of the scripture... It is certainly true that on some topics later Lollardy, whether derived from suspects or by books, went beyond anything that they could have learned directly from Wyclif himself...But Pecock was right in his analysis when he claimed of the Lollards, 'Holi Scripture sufficith.'"Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 389.

⁵A.R. Heiserman, in *Skelton and Satire*, uses an apt metaphor for the structure of the poem. He says that the author "constructs a Chinese box of structural devices by laying one convention inside another. A questing structure (the plowman on pilgrimage to Canterbury) envelops a "tale" (told now not by a Dreamer but by the Plowman himself), which envelops a sermon delivered by a priest, which envelops a debate, which envelops a beast fable, which envelops a set of sermons." Arthur R. Heiserman, *Skelton and Satire*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 223-224.

Previous Editions of the Poem

Its first surviving appearance (there are no medieval manuscripts) is as an independent undated printed edition, which can be dated by provenance evidence to 1533.⁶ The colophon reads: Printed at London by Thomas Godfray. Cum privilegio." Godfray was the printer of the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, edited by William Thynne. According to Francis Thynne, William Thynne's son, the poem was intended to be included in the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, but was blocked by Cardinal Wolsey. Godfray then published it separately the following year. Thynne managed to get it into his second edition of Chaucer's *Works*, 1542, and it was reprinted (the text was never re-edited from a new manuscript) as if by Chaucer until Tyrwhitt's edition of 1775. That is, for our period, in five editions of Chaucer's *Works*: 1542, ca. 1550, 1561, and the two Speght editions of 1598 and 1602. There were three independent editions of the *Plowman's Tale*: 1533, circa 1548, and 1606.

The 1533 edition, edited here, is important as an example of a medieval heretical poem published by the first generation of English Protestants. The poem was printed directly from a Lollard manuscript, with only the addition of a sixteenth-century *Prologue*. It is supplied with a few side notes in Latin, almost all quotations from the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible.⁷ The ca. 1548 edition was a straight reprint of the 1542 edition (without the side notes), published in the first full year of Edward VI's reign, when it became safe to publish Protestant material again in London. It has no editorial matter and is not included in this edition. The text of the 1606 edition, also edited here, is taken from the two Speght editions. It is nested within over five hundred side notes, and is a gold mine of information on Puritan

⁶A single copy only survives at the Huntington Library, STC 5099.5. It is missing its first leaf. The verso of the title-page must have begun abruptly with the *Prologue* bridge into the *Canterbury Tales*, for page A2 begins with line 37 of this *Prologue*.

⁷The side notes end with line 705, the very beginning of Part Three of the poem. The Biblical quotations are not precisely that of the Clementine Vulgate.

attitudes on medieval poetry and religion. It was edited by Antony Wotton as part of his running battle with the Catholic controversialists a few months after the discovery of Guy Fawkes' plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament.

For the first two hundred years after the *Plowman's Tale* was discovered and printed in the 1530s, it was taken to be a missing Canterbury Tale and confidently assigned to Geoffrey Chaucer. Doubts as to its authenticity were first voiced in the 18th century, and by the mid-19th century it was accepted as a Lollard piece and so published, by Thomas Wright⁸ in 1859. Wright, who omitted the *Prologue* that linked it to the *Canterbury Tales*, entitled it "The Complaint of the Ploughman". W. W. Skeat banished it to the Chaucerian apocrypha in the seventh and supplementary volume to his edition of Chaucer's works.⁹ Since that time there has been only one full-scale study of the work: the 1969 doctoral dissertation by Andrew N. Wawn, which spawned three articles in 1972 and 1973.¹⁰ Other than articles by Heffernan and Costomiris on different aspects of the problem of

⁸Thomas Wright, *The Complaint of the Ploughman* in *Political Poems and Songs*, 304-346. He printed the poem, without annotations, from Speght's 1602 edition, as reprinted in 1687.

⁹*The Plowmans Tale* in Walter W. Skeat, editor. *Chaucerian and Other Pieces. Being a Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, In Six Volumes, 1894) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. He printed it from Thynne's second, 1542 edition. He made use of the 1533, Godfray edition. The William Hill edition of 1548 had been lost track of in Skeat's time. He did not know of the manuscript now in Texas. (Intro. xxxii.)

¹⁰I was unable to examine the dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1969. It contains an edition of the *Plowmans Tale* based on the 1533 edition. The articles are: Andrew N. Wawn, "The genesis of the *Plowman's Tale*," *Yearbook of English Studies* 2 (1972): 21-40, "Chaucer, Wyclif and the Court of Apollo," *English Language Notes* 10 (1972-3): 15-20, and "Chaucer, *The Plowman's Tale* and Reformation Propaganda: The Testimonies of Thomas Godfray and *I Playne Piers*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 56 (1973): 174-192.

Chaucerian reception, the *Plowmans Tale* has received only incidental mention from scholars of the poems of the English literary canon.¹¹ It has, however, been the object of attention from scholars of Wycliffite material, particularly Anne Hudson and Margaret Aston, who have written important studies of the relationship between medieval heresy and early Protestantism.¹²

The standard scholarly edition of the *Plowman's Tale* is that of W.W. Skeat, published in 1897 in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*. The most recent edition is the classroom version of James M. Dean in *Six Ecclesiastical Satires*, published in 1991.¹³ Both these editions regularize the poem, taking language from different editions to come to a consensus reading. Both saw the poem and shaped their commentary

¹¹Thomas J. Heffernan, "Aspects of the Chaucerian Apocrypha: Animadversions on William Thynne's Edition of the *Plowman's Tale*" in Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt, editors, *Chaucerian Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer* (Cambridge, 1990) 154-167, is a stimulating discussion of how Thynne, the editor of the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works* managed to insert the poem into the Chaucerian canon. Robert Costomiris, in "The Yoke of Canon: Chaucerian Aspects of *The Plowman's Tale*," *Philological Quarterly* 71 (1992): 185-198, limits himself to a discussion of how the *Plowman's Tale* fitted, metrically, and by subject matter and approach, into the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹²Anne Hudson, "'No newe thyng': the Printing of Medieval Texts in the Early Reformation Period." In *Middle English Studies Presented to Norman Davis in Honour of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Douglas Gray and E.G. Stanley. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 153-174, is the best introduction to the topic of this essay.

¹³Using William Thynne's 1542 edition as a base, Dean adapted readings from the Texas manuscript and the 1532 separate edition where he felt they were appropriate. He regularized spellings in rhyme position and modernized consonantal u to y and i to j. Hard words, difficult phrases and unusual idioms are glossed on the page and textual notes are given at the end. There is a brief introduction with bibliography.

on the assumption that the most interesting thing about it was the illustration that its author had direct knowledge of Chaucer's works and of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. This editor follows Anne Hudson, who insists that the author of the original part of the *Plowmans Tale* makes no direct allusions to either Chaucer or the *Vision of Piers Plowman*.¹⁴

Contents of the Poem

The poem as it now exists consists of a six and a half stanza prologue and three parts of unequal length, 1,380 lines in 8-line stanzas. The original poem dates from approximately 1395. It will be discussed first. The 52 line prologue is manifestly of the early 16th century, and will be discussed in the context of the struggle to get the poem past the royal censors and into print.

The first stanza of the 14th-century poem lays out the terms of the debate: the question is to decide which is the true church, Peter's successors, who are "Popes/ Cardynals/ and Prelates/ Parsons/ monkes and Freres fell" (line 64) or the meek and persecuted, "Iclepeth lollers and londlese" (73). The main part of the poem was billed as a sermon in the prologue, but instead, it is a traveler's tale, told by a seeker (with no characteristics of a plowman) who overhears the debate between the Griffon and the Pelican. The Pelican, who barely lets the Griffon get a word in edgewise, argues in Biblical, mostly New Testament terms. The attack on the pride of the clergy is telling and relentless: "Of holy church maketh an hore" (143), "And Christes people proudly curse/

¹⁴Anne Hudson, "The Legacy of Piers Plowman." In *A Companion to Piers Plowman*, edited by John A. Alford. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988), 251-266. Discussing *The Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman* and the *Plowmans Tale*, she says "it is unclear whether either shows knowledge of *Piers Plowman* and hence whether either properly belongs in this survey. Neither makes any direct allusion to Langland's poem, though there is an evident similarity of concern and some comparable phraseology." (257) This is an excellent survey of all the "Plowman Poems;" the bibliography, 263-266, is especially helpful. See also Pamela Gradon, "Langland and the Ideology of Dissent," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 66 (1980), 179-205.

With brode bokes and brayeng bell/ To putte pennys in her purse/ They woll sell both heuyn and hell" (165-168). The emphasis is particularly on their riches, which lead them to lord it over the lay nobility--such an emphasis leads us to discern the audience towards which the poem was directed.

A good deal of this first section is a general attack on the clergy, but there is enough specificity to suggest a layman as author: The poet complains that if a man is falsely found guilty in a church court and must make purgation, the priests assign him from court to court in town to town, so that he must pay the equivalent of ransom to get free (341-348). In the case that he is guilty, the church officers bleed him even whiter (349-356). The poet mentions the "Tyllour at the plowe" (453) briefly, but simply as a man who was badly led by the hierarchical church: this is not a poem from the point of view of the Plowman.

The poet hammers away on the theme that this greed is not Biblical: "These new poyntes ben pure papall" (362). Beginning at line 365, the poet attacks the Papacy directly, on the grounds that the Popes are not the proper successors of Peter, but have moved entirely beyond Peter's example. The section begins "Peter was never so great a fole/ To leaue his key with such a lorell" (373-4), and moves on to claim that while Peter erred, John did not (441), and then that while Peter was named the Rock, Christ himself was the cornerstone.

The first part of the poem ends at line 476, but there is no dramatic climax that brings it to a satisfactory conclusion. The author announces simply that he has run out of rhymes for "fall" or "befall." He continues, rhyming on "amend".¹⁵

Part Two, on the other hand, has a dramatic force and builds to a conclusion in a more skillful way than Part One. It is tempting to assume that it was once a separate poem, but there is at present no proof that this is so. It begins by defining Antichrist, as the power in

¹⁵"To accorde with this worde fall/ No more Englysshe can I fynde/ Shewe another now I shall/ For I haue moche to saye behynde." (477-480).

the church that is anti-christian (493). It then contrasts the present clergy with the disciples, and while damning Peter with faint praise, suggests that the present churchmen resemble Judas, who stole from the disciple's common purse (613-620).

Of particular interest are references to the "poor priests":

"Christ sente the poore for to preche
The royall riche he dyd nat so
Nowe dare no poore the people teche
For Antichrist is ouer all her foe
Amonge the people he mote go
He hath bydden all suche suspende
Some hath he hente/ & thynketh yet mo
But all this god may well amende"
(549-556)

In the thirteenth stanza, more in sorrow than in anger, the poet introduces the metaphor of the true and false shepherds: the true shepherd "shulde beare his shepe tyll his backe bende" (586) and the false who "culleth the shepe as dothe the coke" (593). It moves from Peter as Satan, to Judas, to the present church, whose members would condemn Christ to death for heresy:

Were Christ on erthe here efte sone
These wolde dampne hym to dye
All his hestes they han fordone
And sayne his sawes ben heresy
And ayenst his commaundements they crye
And dampne all his to be brende
For it lyketh nat hem suche losengery
God almighty hem amende
(629-636)

The last eight stanzas are a rousing cry for king and parliament to act together to correct clerical abuses. Stanza 21, lines 637-644, declares that

"These han more myght in Englande here
Than hath the kyng and all hys lawe

They han purchased hem such powere
 To taken hem whom lyst not knawe
 And say that heresy is her sawe
 And so to pryson woll hem sende
 It was nat so by elder dawe.
 God for his mercy it amende"

and complains that churchmen seize and imprison poor men for heresy that they alone define. This the poet contrasts to the king's law, where every man is informed of the law which he is accused of breaking (645). He then contrasts clerical taxes to lay taxes, which are raised "by assente of the commynalte" (654). The poet is very specific about abuses of the clerical courts from the point of view of propertied middle class: "For who so woll proue a Testament/ That is nat all worthe tenne ponde/ He shall paie for the parchment/ The thirde parte of the money all rounde/ Thus the people is raunsounde" (661-665). He is disgusted that the clerics can simply pay twenty shillings a year for an absolution that allows them to fornicate at will (669-672).

The last three stanzas address Parliament and the House of Lords directly, calling on them to put down the pride of the church or else the realm of England will become like the Holy Roman Empire where the Emperour is nothing more than a "sely kyme." At the end the poet (might this be a reference to the Lollard petitions posted on the doors of the Parliament and of Saint Paul's in 1395?) appeals to parliament and the lords to take up the cause of the poor people, and explain their plight to the king.

"Wonder is/ that the parlyament
 And all the lordes of this londe
 Herto taken to lytell entent
 To helpe the people out of her honde
 For they ben harder in their bonde
 Worse beate/ and bytter brende
 Than to the king is vnderstande
 God hym helpe this to amende"
 (685-692)

The author ends with the pointed comment that at one time the Pope caused the Emperor's abdication, warns that it might happen in

England and calls on the kyng and lords to correct the injustice:

"The Emperour yafe the Pope sometyme
 So hyghe lordshyppe hym aboute
 That at laste the sely kyme
 The proude Pope putte hym out
 So of thys realme is in doute
 But lordes beware and them defende
 For nowe these folk[] be wonder stoute
 The kyng and lordes nowe thys amende"
 (693-700)

This stanza resonated down the centuries. Milton quoted it in its entirety in his *On the Reformation of Church Government* of 1641.¹⁶

Part Two was certainly written by a man with a knowledge of common as well as civil law, a man of some property, aggrieved, but still with hope that the king and parliament would correct clerical abuses.

In Part Three the poem finally gains some drama: at long last, line 717, the Griffon gets a word in edgewise, even if it is only to ask the Pelican what he can criticize about secular canons. The Pelican embarks on a sustained attack on all orders of the clergy which follow the Antichrist. He has some vivid descriptions of priests drinking riotously at village fairs (869-874), seducing men's wives (877-883), hunting "with dogge and bytche", and even using sorcery "as a wytche" (889-891). This section attacks religious images as "stocke and stone/ Gayly paynted/ and proudly dight" (893-894) and also attacks pilgrimages directly (908). Yet the poet does not reject the real presence of the Mass; Lollardy was not a coherently credal sect, and

¹⁶ John Milton. *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*. Ed. Will Taliaferro Hale. Yale Studies in English, LIV. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916, 44. This is an edition of the first, 1641, edition. Milton quotes the next stanza as well. The editor suggests that he may have found the citation in Prynne, *A Terrible Outcrie*, p. 5.

this poem dates from the early days of the movement before it became radicalized.

Part Three is much harsher against abuses in clerical lifestyles and abuses in the administration of the sacraments than the first two sections of the poem. From secular canons, the Pelican moves on to attack monks, whom, he says, Saint Benedict would never recognize. The only group that he does not attack is the friars, for he says that he has already spoken about the evil lives of Friars "In a making of a Crede" (1066).

Finally the Griffon gets a chance to present his side of the debate: he defends the riches of the clergy on the grounds that if they did not live magnificently, they would be harried by wicked and greedy laymen (1077). The Pelican "cast on houghe crye/ And sayd alas/ why sayest thou so/ Christ is our heed that syteth on hye/ Heddes ne ought we have no mo" (1109-1112). He insists that Kings and lay lords alone should have lordship (1119). The Pelican, turning the Griffon's words back on himself, insists that the true Christian is humble and meek (1125-1132). The Griffon counters by accusing the Pelican of living a hypocritical life, of despising the seven sacraments, and the Papacy (1157-1164). The Pelican, in the guise of the simple layman, denies all these accusations. He insists that "The sacramentes be soule hele, If they ben vsed in good vse (1193-1194). He refuses to take part in the scholastic quarrels concerning "subject" and "accident" and hammers away at the fact that he attacks neither sacraments nor offices, but only the corrupt holders of office. Nonetheless the disgusted Griffon threatens him with bodily hanging, and spiritual damnation (1233-1236).

The last battle is the only portion of the poem with dramatic tension. The Pelican, fulfilling in his symbolic persona the suffering Christ figure (symbolized in the bestiaries by the maternal pelican who feeds her children with her own blood) announces that he is ready to suffer whatever the worldly church may devise (1265-1268). The Griffon "grynned as he were wode"(1269) and flies forth to seek reinforcements to punish the Pelican. The Pelican weeps, and speaking to himself, wishes that any true Christian might have heard his indictment of the official church and might record it. The Plowman/Narrator, who has been listening passively the whole time

now steps forward and says that he would write it down if he might have a reward for so doing. He asks the Pelican "what ayleth the Gryffon[?]" and the Pelican replies that the Griffon's dual nature is mirrored in his form: half eagle and half lion. The eagle nature is spiritual pride; the lion nature is temporal strength. Then follows the final battle: the Griffon returns with birds of prey, who chase away the Pelican. The Pelican would seem to have been beaten, but his champion, the Phoenix (the symbol of the resurrected Christ) arrives and slays the Griffon and all his supporters (1341-1348).

The poem ends on a peculiar note of anticlimax: the Plowman/Narrator insists that all opinions expressed in the poem against the hierarchical church were those of the Pelican; the Plowman was the conduit, not the author (1365-1367) He promises that he will bow to the mandates of holy church if necessary to preserve his life.¹⁷ Yet we should not be surprised: abjuring was expected of heretics. It was only on a second or subsequent arrest that the authorities moved

¹⁷ The testimonies (preserved in Latin and English) of Lollard heretics tried between 1428 and 1431, in the court of the bishop of Norwich, show that they held many of the same tenets as the author of the poem. For example, Johannes Reve de Becles, glover, testified that he had held the heretical belief that "Also that Y have holde, beleved and affermed that the Pope of Rome is Antechrist and hath no poar in holy Church as Seint Petir hadde but if he folwe the steppis of Petir in conversacion of lyvyng. Also that all bisshops, prelates and prestes of the Church be Antecristis disciples." He abjured successfully, and after a public penance was allowed to go free. Norman P. Tanner, editor, *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-1431*. Edited for the Royal Historical Society from Westminster Diocesan Archives MS. B.2. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977, 112. Margaret Aston's long review article, "William White's Lollard Followers," *Catholic Historical Review* 68 (1982): 469-497, reprinted in Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*. London: Hambledon Press, 1984, is essential to the understanding of these trials. Sixty heretics, fifty-one men and nine women, were tried. Their leader, William White, a priest, who had abjured once, in 1422, had been burned to death for heresy in September 1428. Most of these laymen survived by abjuring.

beyond abjuration and humiliating penance.

There is nothing in the poem to indicate sympathy with the agricultural laborers--nothing of the feeling of Langland towards the poor peasants. There is no reason that the poem should have been assigned to Chaucer's Plowman. A narrator who complains that the church courts charge too much for settling probates represents not the lowest classes, but the bourgeoisie, the literate laymen for whom the tenets of Lollardy had the most appeal.

Although Antony Wotton, the editor of the 1606 edition, felt that the most important aspect of the poem was its definition of the Pope as Antichrist, its real point was to define the devout life as close as possible to the New Testament ideal. This meant that the Lollards taught the priesthood of all believers, and had no use at all for the ecclesiastical hierarchy. But the focus on the scriptures came first; their criticism of institutions grew out of their devotion to the Bible.

Date of the Original Poem

Skeat confidently dated the original *Plowman's Tale* to 1395. Andrew N. Wawn, the most recent scholar of the poem dates it to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Skeat's dating was based on lines 1065-1066, where the Pelican says, "Of freres I have told before/ In a making of a Crede." Skeat felt this was a clear reference to *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, dated to 1393 by an internal reference.¹⁸ It is unlikely that the two poems are actually by the same man: the *Plowman's Tale* is in rhyming stanzas, the *Plowman's Crede* is in long alliterative lines. But if it is assumed that the Ploughman was an archetypal figure to whom a great many poems of protest were

¹⁸ Skeat had edited *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* for the Early English Text Society in 1867, (Early English Text Society, o.s. 30.) Skeat dated the *Crede* to 1393 because it referred to Walter Brute's examinations before the bishop of Hereford in that year. Besides this reference, Skeat cited seventeen examples of verbal similarity, so close that he confidently dated the *Plowman's Tale* to 1395. (This is the source of the dating of all references to the *Plowmans Tale* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.)

assigned, the difficulty is lessened. Wotton certainly recognized their similarity: he quotes a line of the *Crede* in support of an assertion in the *Tale*.¹⁹

Anne Hudson has uncovered a peculiarly Lollard sect vocabulary. Applying her analysis of these "loaded" words to this poem enriches the meaning and also provides evidence that it indeed dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.²⁰ An example is the use of term "ground" in the first stanza of the poem, quoted above. In the 1533 edition (which we assume is a direct typesetting from the manuscript), line 57 reads, "For some [seeds] be great growen vngrounde." In the separate 1548 edition "ungrounde", in the versions printed as part of Chaucer's *Works*, 1542, ca. 1550, 1561, and the first Speght edition of 1598 still "ungrounde," but in Speght's 1602 edition, and consequently in Wotton's 1606 edition, the line reads, "For some be great growne on ground." Wotton, assuming that the reference was to grain that had not yet been milled, comments in a Side note, "6. *Unground*, eyther it should be on ground, or vpon the ground, or els he addes vnground, to shew the greatnesse of them." Hudson shows that 'ungroundid' to the Lollards meant 'not justifiable from scripture'; hence the friars' mendicancy is *vngroundid beggerie*, the clergy's response to oral confessions *vngroundid absoluciouns* the assertions of the papacy *vngroundid fantasies of antecrist*. "Every example of the use of term given by Hudson refers to the Lollard belief that the only

¹⁹Lines 303-304: For to Lords they woll be liche,/ An harlots sonne not worth an hawe. Side note to these lines: *For to Lords*: For they will bee equall, like to Lords, though they be the sonnes of neuer so meane people : as Cardinall *VValsey* was a Butchers sonne of *Iptswich* : See *Pierce Ploughmans Creede* of this point : *Now mote eche souter his sonne setten to Schoole*. The reference is to line 744 of the *Crede*.

²⁰Anne Hudson, "A Lollard sect vocabulary?" In *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, edited by Michael Benskin and M.L. Samuels. (Edinburgh: Michael Benskin and M.L. Samuels, 1981), 15-30. The discussion of "unground" is on pages 21-22.

true ground is scripture, and particularly the example of Christ as revealed in scripture. Wotton missed the strength of the metaphor and thus the biting force of the stanza.

There have been disagreements among experts as to whether sixteenth-century material has been interpolated into the fourteenth-century text. Anne Hudson, accepts Wawn's arguments for an early 15th century date for the poem as "entirely persuasive" but she was not totally convinced of Wawn's dissection of that early poem into a basic debate and a revised version with interpolation.²¹ Wawn argued that the great majority of the poem was indeed of the early 15th century, and other than the *Prologue*, only lines 205-228 (which do not fit the rhyme-scheme) are sixteenth-century interpolations. Wawn's careful linguistic analysis, which traced the last date of quotation of words in rhyme position in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, showed that the poem, other than the *Prologue*, dated from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.²²

Wawn was replying to Henry Bradley's short article in the *Athenaeum* of 1902 where he hypothesized that only 112 lines of the 1,380 lines of the poem were original and the poem as it exists is largely a 16th century work.²³ All of the lines that Bradley accepted as

²¹Anne Hudson, "'No newe thyng': The Printing of Medieval Texts in the Early Reformation Period," in *Middle English Studies Presented to Norman Davis in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, 172.

²²"The Genesis of *The Plowman's Tale*," *Yearbook of English Studies* 2 (1972): 21-40.

²³*The Athenaeum*, No. 3898, July 12, 1902, 62. When Skeat published the poem in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* in 1897, he assigned the date of 1395 to the *Plowman's Tale*. Henry Bradley, writing five years later, reported that Skeat had changed his mind, and now felt that lines 205-228 and 717-1268 were long interpolations. This meant that, according to Bradley, in Skeat's revised opinion, two-fifths of the poem, including the reference to *Piers the Plowman's Crede*, was a sixteenth-century interpolation. It left the debate

original are from the first part of the poem. Bradley's conclusion was that "a Lollard piece of the fourteenth century has undergone two successive expansions in the sixteenth century, both with the object of adapting it to the needs of contemporary controversy. The two expansions may possibly be due to the same person, for it is conceivable that when producing a second edition the redactor may have ceased to be solicitous about the exact conformity of his additions to the original pattern." He suggested that the original was an attack on the friars only, and that the Griffon was an addition to the original scheme. Bradley's was a very short piece, a statement rather than a worked-out article, but his was the accepted interpretation until Wawn's article on the genesis of the poem was published in 1972.

Alistair Fox's bald statement, published in his *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, that it was written by its printer, Thomas Godfray, in 1535, is untenable.²⁴ Fox does not document his claim.

framework, Part I and the battle at the end as the only original parts of the poem. The reasoning behind this was that the regular scheme of ending each stanza with the same word was interrupted for these lines.

Bradley insisted that the evidence of language in the interpolated sections would not allow for a fourteenth-century date. (He gave no evidence.) He cut down the original even more, leaving only 112 lines out of 1,380, or 14 stanzas out of 172 and one-half, to the original poet.

²⁴Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, 222. I am not sufficiently competent in linguistics to reply to the remark of A.G. Dickens, "The Shape of Anti-Clericalism and the English Reformation" in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, "As for the *Plowman's Tale*, an eloquent assault on the whole church system, it appears to be a medieval poem re-written in would-be Middle English spelling by a sixteenth-century Protestant," (p. 382). This edition is based on the premise that the only major sixteenth-century addition is the prologue and that the poem itself was not altered in any substantial manner.

There are other ways of dating the poem to the end of the fourteenth century: the hairstyles and costumes that are attacked in the poem century, from long curled locks in "crockets"²⁵ to exaggerated pikes on the men's shoes to extremely wide sleeves on vestments are of that period and not of the sixteenth century.²⁶ It would have been most unlikely for an author of the early sixteenth century to meticulously recreate the costumes of over a hundred years earlier. Even the pelican, the symbol of the suffering Christ, may have been suggested by the real pelican which the citizens of London gave to Richard II's Queen, Anne of Bohemia, as a symbolic Christmas gift in 1392.²⁷

The ecclesiastical hierarchy had not driven the Lollards underground during the reign of Richard II. John Wyclif had died in 1384, in disgrace, but in no danger of being burned for heresy.²⁸ (The

²⁵"Kembe her crockettes with christall." (306)

²⁶ "Of scarlet and grene gay gownes
That mote be shape for the newe
To clyppen and kyssen cou[n]ten in townes
The damosels that to the daunce sewe
Cuttet clothes to sewe her hewe
With longe pykes on her shone
(925-930)

Now been preestes pokes so wyde
That men must enlarge the vestement
(933-934)

The proude pendaunts at her ars ypent
(939)

Iris Brooke. *Western European Costume: Thirteenth to seventeenth Centuries*. 2d ed. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1963. Plates 24, 41, 73.

²⁷Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 107.

²⁸Recent scholarship has moved the beginning of real persecution for heresy to after 1400. Margaret Aston's

statute which called for this punishment was not to be passed until 1401; his bones were not dug up and burned until 1415.) In the 1390s it was still possible to hold public debates on Wyclif's views of the church.

Anne Hudson has shown that the definition of the bounds of orthodoxy was not complete in 1382, when Wyclif was forced to retire to Lutterworth. It was not hardened until the official ecclesiastical laws governing censorship were summed up Archbishop Arundel's *Provincial Constitutions* of 1407, and finally passed by Parliament as the Statute "Ex Officio" in 1410.²⁹ She has traced an open debate on Bible translation (which nowhere uses the term "Lollard") at Oxford as late as 1401, and has also shown that substantial treatises upholding the Lollard point of view were being composed using the Oxford library resources as late as 1411. She also points out that "one of the most striking proposals of the Lollard Disendowment Bill, presented most probably in 1410. . . was that the king should use some of the proceeds confiscated from the established Church to finance the establishment of fifteen new universities."³⁰ The Wycliffites were still confident that their views, particularly on disendowment, would be adopted if only

summary, "Lollardy and Sedition 1381-1431," *Past & Present* 17 (1960), 1-44, which owed much to the views of K.B. McFarlane has been modified. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*.

²⁹A.W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle*. 1926. Repr. (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), Chapter VII. "The Regulation of the Book Trade Before the Proclamation of 1538," 161-162. Constitution VII forbade the translation of the scriptures into English, and the reading of any such book, libel, or treatise--set forth in the time of John Wyclif or since, or hereafter to be set out." (162).

³⁰Anne Hudson, "The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401," *English Historical Review* XC (1975), 1-18. Hudson, "Wycliffism in Oxford 1381-1411." In *Wyclif in His Times*, edited by Anthony Kenny. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

they might be publicized.³¹

Marginal Glosses

The 1533 printed version contains a few marginal glosses. They are not numerous, just thirty-four in all, and end just after the beginning of Part Three. They would seem to be comments by a casual reader, not the result of a sustained effort with a reference source.³² All are in Latin: most are snippets from the Vulgate that illuminate the author's criticism of the established church. In only a few cases is the Biblical reference given. Typical are "In uestimentis ouium intrisecus autem sunt lupi rapaces," (Matthew 7:15, Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt as vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces) and "Lac comedebatis & lanis operiebamini & quod pingue erat occidistis" (Ezekiel 34:3, Lac comedebatis, et lanis operiebamini, et quod crassum erat occidebatis, gregem autem meum non pascebatis). The substitution of "pingue" for "crassum" of the Clementine Vulgate is typical.

Of particular interest is the comment on lines 645-648. The poem has, "The kynges lawe woll no man deme/ Angerlyche withouten answer/ But yf any man these mysqueme/ He shalbe beted as a bere" The marginal gloss is: "Lex neminem iudicat nisi prius audierit ab eo qui dixit," the law will judge no-one until he has heard the law [under which he has been accused] from his [judge.]³³ This is obviously a legal maxim and can be used as an argument for a legal provenance for the manuscript from which the poem was printed.

³¹Margaret Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment." In *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Barrie Dobson. (Gloucester: Alan Sutton and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 45-81.

³²These are not present in the manuscript now in Texas.

³³It has not been able to find the source of this quotation. It would seem to come from the civil law.

The Prologue

The bridging Prologue, which was written as late as the late 1520s or early 1530s, as much as a hundred and forty years after the body of the poem, is very different. The mission of its author was to get this long heretical work into print within the safe confines of the works of Chaucer, the most admired English poet. He was undoubtedly an early Protestant, perhaps the author of other socially critical, anti-clerical poetry that used the Plowman as its spokesman.³⁴

Chaucer's Plowman, a fairly prosperous character, a charitable, tithe-paying horseman, "brother" to the priest, had no tale. He was hardly a figure of protest, but there was, of course, another Plowman who was. Langland's great poem was undoubtedly known in the 1520s, although Robert Crowley was not to put it into print until 1550,³⁵ and his Piers had many descendants who were not mincing words of social or clerical protest. In the early Protestant circles, the Plowman figure had acquired a harsh persona, very different from Chaucer's invention.

Nor did the author of the Prologue to the *Plowman's Tale* spend much effort creating a plausible bridge into Chaucer's poem. Chaucer's Plowman set out on horseback in April; the Plowman of the Prologue set out in midsummer on foot. Chaucer's Plowman owned a mare; the Prologue's Plowman left his plow-team, made up of his only ox and his milk cow (not two oxen) and prepared to trudge the whole pilgrimage route. He is so thin that one might see his teeth through the

³⁴An older discussion of all the Plowman material as social protest is Helen C. White, *Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century*. 1944. Repr. (New York: Octagon Books, 1975), Chapter I. "The Piers Plowman Tradition." Anne Hudson, "The Legacy of Piers Plowman," is a much more nuanced study and has an excellent bibliography.

³⁵J.R. Thorne and Marie-Claire Uhart, "Robert Crowley's *Piers Plowman*," *Medium Aevum* LV (1986), 248-254 discusses Crowley's modernizations of Langland's text. *Pierce the Plowmans Crede* was printed together with *The Vision of Piers Plowman* in 1561.

skin of his cheeks, burned by the sun, and clothed in rags. This is the Plowman of *I playne Piers that cannot flatter, A plowe man men me call* or of the Lollard *Pierce the Plowmans Crede*, whose protagonist is too poor to provide shoes for wife, so that she leaves bloody footprints in the ice as she urges the oxen forward.

In an another departure from Chaucer, the author of this Prologue makes the Host anti-monastic, anti-clerical in general. This Host suspects that the Plowman, because of his sunburnt face and ragged clothes, is the victim of persecution by the religious authorities for his independence, "He nas nat alwaie in cloister ipente/ He could not religiousliche loute/ And therfore was he fully shent" (22-24). The Host is correct: when he asks him "What man art thou?" the Plowman replies that he plows to earn his meat in an independent manner, and to support his wife and children, and that his poverty is caused by the greedy clerics who starve the peasantry (25-32). When the peasants object, the clerics curse their souls to Hell: "they putten vs to payne/ With candels queynte and belles clynke" (39-40) and take away the food that they earn: "They haue the corne/ and we the dust" (43). The Host's reaction is to ask the Plowman to preach to the company, "Come nere and tell vs some holy thyng." (46)

Curiously, the Plowman declines the challenge. Rather than preach himself, he proposes to repeat what he has heard "a preeste in pulpyt" declare. (48) Therefore the poem that follows, although manifestly a diatribe in the form of a beast-debate, is billed as a sermon.

This brings up an interesting point: might the original version of the poem have been a sermon in verse? The Lollards often distanced themselves from persecution by just such devices. There are traces of a Lollard pattern of a counter-church to the visible, orthodox church. Among the survivals of Lollard literature is a complete sermon cycle. Yet it is noticeable that at the end of the poem the Plowman/Narrator has dropped any pretense of the poem being a sermon, and simply blames any subversive utterances on the Pelican.

How did the poem survive for the intervening one hundred and forty years? We have no hard evidence, but we should note that Thomas Speght, Chaucer's editor, says in his 1598 introduction to Chaucer's *Works: Arguments to Euery Tale and Booke*, "For I have seene it in written hand in Iohn Stowes Library in a booke of such antiquity, as seemeth to have beene written neare to Chaucers time."³⁶ It is tempting to speculate both from its content and the appearance of the sole manuscript that it was preserved in legal circles in London.

That the only surviving manuscript, bound into a printed copy of the 1532 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, is in the distinctive Court Hand of the lawyers, not the literary Secretary Hand of the poets, suggests that it may have been preserved in the Inns of Court. The handwriting, which can be attributed to a specialist scribe at the Inns of Court (not the Chancery) is consistent with a late 15th century or early 16th century date.³⁷ It is a handsome manuscript, not illuminated with separate miniatures, but decorated with fine flourished letters. The

³⁶*The Workes of Our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed*. London: Printed by Adam Islip, at the charges of Bonham Notton, 1598, [civ].

³⁷Laetitia Yeandle, curator of manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library, in July 1994, very kindly examined a copy of the poem made from a microfilm of the manuscript. She suggested that the scribe was employed at the Inns of Court, and further suggested that the copy may have been made as early as the late fifteenth century. From a personal examination of all the legal manuscripts of the Harvard Law School Library I have concluded that the handwriting of Harvard Law School Library, MS 16, John Savile's Reports, first half of the sixteenth century, most closely resembles that of the *Plowmans Tale* manuscript. J.H. Baker, *English Legal Manuscripts in the United States of America: A descriptive List*. (London: Selden Society: 1990), Part II, Early Modern and Modern Periods (1558-1902), 7-8. Cathy Henderson, Research Librarian of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin informs me (Letter, August 15, 1994) that there are no watermarks on any leaves of the paper on which the poem is written, so that the poem cannot be dated by watermark evidence.

scribe repeated one line, the sign that he was copying from another manuscript. It does not have any of the Latin side notes of the 1533 printed edition.

Amy Irvine, who investigated the manuscript in 1932, felt that the manuscript derives from a lost original, and that the printed copies do not derive from the Texas manuscript.³⁸ At the present time it cannot be ascertained whether it was copied for someone who knew of Thynne's struggles to include the poem in the 1532 printed edition of Chaucer's *Works*, and had it copied in 1532 or 1533 to insert into his copy of the printed book, or it was made in private circles sympathetic to Lollardy as early as the end of the 15th century, and bound into the 1532 edition to make it as complete as the 1542 edition.

Was the manuscript smuggled abroad by Tyndale and his circle in exile in the Low Countries in the late 1520s and early 1530s? They printed any Lollard pieces that they could lay hands on, and in the *Dialogue between a gentillman and a husbandman*, chose to print an incomplete treatise because of the value of its testimony on the importance of Biblical translation.³⁹ They published a cluster of other

³⁸Annie S. Irvine, "A Manuscript Copy of "The Plowman's Tale," *The University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English* 12 (1932), 27-56. She sums up her evidence on pages 54-56.

³⁹*A proper dyalogue, betwene a gentillman and an husbandman* which contains part of *A compendious olde treatyse, shewynge, howe that we ought to have y^e scripture in Englysshe*

"For here agaynst the clergie can not bercke
Sayenge as they do / thys is a newe wercke
Of heretykes contruyed lately.

And by thys treatyse it apperyth playne
That before oure dayes men dyd compleyne
Agaynst clerckes ambycyon so stately." (Sig. C6v)

Of the *Compendious olde treatyse*, the Husbandman says, "halfe the boke we want/ Hauynge no more left than a remenaunt/ From the begynnyng of the .vi. chapter verely." Hudson, "'No newe thyng', 159-160. Hudson discusses the original tract in "The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401," *English Historical Review* XC (1975), 1-

Lollard pieces including "The Clergy May Not Hold Property," the introduction to the Wycliffite translation of the Bible, and the examinations of William Thorpe and Sir John Oldcastle. They published the *Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman Unto Christ* in Antwerp, probably in 1531.⁴⁰ It is conceivable that they knew of the *Plowmans Tale* without the Chaucerian Prologue. It is, however, unlikely that anyone within the Tyndale circle would have bothered to write the Chaucerian bridge: that was the work of a member of the establishment who wanted to give it credibility, not an exiled radical who would have valued it precisely for its independent status as a Lollard piece. It is known that some whole editions of material published by the Tyndale circle has disappeared, but barring the discovery of further evidence, there is no proof that any of the poems that quote from the *Plowmans Tale* have a continental provenance or date before 1533.⁴¹ It is more likely that the poem was discovered in England, and the decision to attribute it to Chaucer was made there.

Thomas Godfray, Printer

It is unfortunate that many scholars of literature underestimate the role of the printer/publisher of poetry during this period. While this may be acceptable in the early 17th century, it is not correct for the 1530s. This was a time when English printer/publishers made their first real money by supplying the market with radical Protestant material in the vernacular.⁴² This was the period of, in Christopher Haigh's

18.

⁴⁰Godfray printed it, probably in 1532. It was on the official list of banned books in 1546.

⁴¹ Whole lines from the *Plowmans Tale* were incorporated into *The Pilgrim's Tale*, probably composed between 1536 and 1538 and first printed 1537-1539, and *I playne Piers which can not flatter*, composed after 1539 and first printed 1548-1550. See Wawn, "Chaucer, *The Plowman's Tale* and Reformation Propaganda."

⁴² Printing in England had originally been in the hand of foreigners. It was not until 1534 that their special privileges were done

formulation: the first, or Henrician political Reformation.⁴³ The situation favorable to the Reformed interest, was largely reversed after 1538, and the booksellers and printers were severely restricted as to what they could import and print. Thomas Godfray disappears from the records in 1537. He operated during the only open window in Henry VIII's reign.

Thomas Godfray definitely published his books under the protection of Thomas Cromwell and perhaps with the encouragement of figures closer to Henry VIII. It can be demonstrated that Queen Anne Boleyn, until her fall in early 1536, supported the importation of advanced Reform material--she owned a copy of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, printed on vellum in Antwerp in 1534-- but there is no direct evidence that she sponsored English printers.⁴⁴

away with and English and naturalized English booksellers took control. From 1530, when Thomas More became chancellor, the police powers turned on importers and English printers, and the penalties became heavier as Henry VII's reign progressed. D. M. Loades, "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 5th ser., 24 (1974), 141-157. See also D.M. Loades, "The Press Under the Early Tudors," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* IV (1964-1968), 29-50.

⁴³ "The religious changes of sixteenth-century England were far too complex to be bound together as 'the Reformation', too complex even to be 'a Reformation'. England had discontinuous Reformations and parallel Reformations. There were three political Reformations: a Henrician political Reformation between 1530 and 1538, much of it reversed between 1538 and 1546; an Edwardian political Reformation between 1547 and 1553, almost completely reversed between 1553 and 1558; and an Elizabethan political Reformation between 1559 and 1563--which was not reversed." Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, 14.

⁴⁴ Maria Dowling, "The Gospel and the Court: Reformation Under Henry VIII." In *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*. Ed. Peter Lake and Maria Dowling.

Godfray's output was only a small part of the total of books published in English during the years 1530 through 1537, but his choice of titles led, rather than followed, the trend towards publishing Reformed material. We can be certain that he published thirty-seven separate editions over the eight years, and he collaborated with John Mychell on ten more. Of these forty-seven titles,⁴⁵ thirty-four⁴⁶ were tententiously Protestant and five were to be proscribed by title in the proclamation of 1546 against Protestant printing.,⁴⁷

London, New York, Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987, 51-54. The Queen's copy of Tyndale's *New Testament*, printed in Antwerp by M. Emprowr in 1534, is now in the British Library, STC 2826. *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1961*. Rev. ed. Of T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, 1903, by A.S. Herbert. London: British and Foreign Bible Society, New York: American Bible Society, 1968. Entry No. 13. Further references as DMH.

⁴⁵ Thirty-one individual works, six reprints of his own publications. He may have been involved in the printing of ten more works, which are attributed to John Mychell in the second edition of the Short-Title Catalogue, but which make use of Godfray's historiated initials, text type, title-page borders, and factotums. Mychell had not been thought to have been active in Canterbury until 1549, but in 1977 Michael L. Zell published evidence that an unnamed printer "in the parysche of sent pollys" was printing books "clerely agense the fayth of true Cristen men" in 1536. *The Library* ser. 5 (32) 1977, 155-156. Also J.E. Hobbs, *The Library* ser. 5 (33) 1978, 172. Mychell's imprints were back-dated to take Zell's evidence into account.

⁴⁶ Twenty-seven are accepted as having been printed by Godfray. If it is agreed that he worked with John Mychell, seven more can be added to the list, making a total of thirty-four controversial Reformed works.

⁴⁷ With the exception of the dates for STC 4370. William Calverlerley's *A Dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the Defendaunt* which has been moved from [1535] to [1530-1532], the *Plowman's Tale*, which has been moved from [1535] to 1533, and STC 10488.7.

Godfray had protection from on high in England, as well as connections with radical circles on the continent.⁴⁸ All but the radical *Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman*⁴⁹ and the works by the exiled reformers assigned by the *Short-title Catalogue* to John Mychell, are signed by him. All the signed volumes have the notice “cum priuilegio,” “cum privilegio regali,” or “cum priuilegio a rege indulto,” not necessarily a guarantee of orthodoxy, but an indication that he was a recognized printer.⁵⁰ He also published beynd the pale of orthodoxy and had to have powerful protectors, great sympathy with

Erasmus. Epistell...forbedynge of eatynge of flesshe, which has been moved from [1533] to [1534], dates attributed to Godfray's imprints (without the queries that are present in almost all cases) are taken from the *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, Katharine F. Pantzer. 3v. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991.

⁴⁸ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, 173-174, proposed that government sponsored printing be defined as “those specifically known to have come from government-employed pens, and those published by the king’s printer, Thomas Berthelet.” He was misled by Gordon Duff, *Century of the Book Trade*, 56, into declaring that Godfray was not used by Cromwell and the government.

⁴⁹ *The Prayer and Complaint* (STC 20036.5), has no indication of printer, date or place of publication. It has been assigned to Godfray because of its distinctive title-page ornament strips.

⁵⁰ A.W. Reed, “The Regulation of the Book Trade Before the Proclamation of 1538,” *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 15 (1917-1919): 157-184, prints documents showing there was some confusion whether “cum privilegio” meant that the book was free of doctrinal error. Henry VIII himself corrected the language in 1538 to indicate that it meant that it was simply a right to print for a limited time.

the exiled radicals, or an enormous financial incentive to print proscribed material.

Twelve of the titles that Godfray printed were written or edited by Tyndale or members of his circle. The most important was Tyndale's *New Testament*. He seems to have begun by reprinting Tyndale material from Antwerp editions in 1532, *The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman unto Christ*, preface signed "w.T."⁵¹ year. In the same year, he also printed Patrick Hamilton's *Patrick's Places*, omitting the preface by John Frith. In 1534, he published *The Psalter of David*, translated from Martin Bucer by George Joye. Enormous numbers of the subversive books have disappeared over the intervening centuries, but, judging from surviving copies, in 1534 he was the first, in either England or the Low Countries, to publish George Joye's edition of the *Proverbs of Solomon*. In 1535 he was the first to publish (separately) in English the *Pater Noster Spoken of a Sinner*, which with a commentary by Girolamo Savonarola on the Fifty-First Psalm, was taken back across the Channel and printed in Antwerp. In 1536, Godfray published the only edition in England of the Tyndale *New Testament*, with Tyndale's name on the title page. He also printed two editions of Tyndale's *Path Way into the Holy Scripture* (the introduction to the New Testament). Godfray's Primer in English was based more directly on George Joye's *Ortulus Anime* than any of the other early primers.

Godfray printed five pieces of official Reformed propaganda for William Marshall, who in turn reported to Thomas Cromwell. In April 1534, Marshall wrote to Cromwell, "On the book of Constantine I laid out all the money I can make, and for lack of it cannot fetch the

⁵¹ Anthea Hume. "English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525-1535: An Annotated Bibliography." In Thomas More. *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. Vol. 8, part 2. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973. Appendix B, 1065-1091. Her numbers 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 are Lollard works. She felt that the editor of no. 20, *The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman* was George Joye, not Tyndale. Godfray continued printing at least two years after Hume's list stops. Some of Hume's conclusions have been corrected in the second edition of the *Short-title Catalogue*.

books from the printers."⁵² *The Treatise of the Donation of Constantine* consists mainly of Marshall's translation of Lorenzo Valla's declamation proving that the document containing the Donation of Constantine was a medieval forgery. Godfray also printed Marshall's translations of Girolamo Savonarola's *Exposition...vpon ye .li. psalme* and Marsahall's translation of *The forme and manner of subuention or helpyng of pore people, practysed in Hypres* (Ypres).⁵³ These three books did not arouse public protest from the conservatives. Another title did.

A treatise based on a book of Bucer, demonstrating that "images are not to be suffered in churches," and a reprint of it with an enthusiastic appendix by the public preachers of Argentyne (Strassburg) caused vigorous protests to Thomas Cromwell. In September 1535 the imperial ambassador and the Lord Chancellor both protested. Chapuys the imperial ambassador to [Granvelle,] "a book against images has lately been printed with royal license;" Lord Chancellor Audeley to [Cromwell,] announcing that he intended to send for the printer to stop publication; and Thomas Broke to Cromwell, officiously sending a copy of the book "I ... thought it my duty to send you the same, for ye know what Marshall is."⁵⁴ The printer

⁵² *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547*. Edd. J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner, R.H. Brodie. London: 1862-1910. 21 vols. in 33 parts. Reprint Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965. Calendared documents, not complete transcriptions. Vol. VII, nn. 422-423. Further references as *L. and P.*

⁵³ G.R. Elton, "An Early Tudor Poor Law." In G.R. Elton. *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews, 1946-1972*, 137-154.

⁵⁴ *L. and P.*, Vol. IX, nn. 345, 357, 358. Summaries of the original documents. A.F. P[ollard], who wrote the entry on Marshall for the Dictionary of National Biography, thought that these letters pertained to Marshall's 'Pyctures and Ymages,' printed by John Gough. It has not been able to trace Pollard's reference in the second edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue*, so it is assumed that the book on images is Godfray's STC 24238, and its reprint with appendix, STC 24239.

was not stopped, but encouraged. On December 13, 1535, a proclamation was approved ordering books containing error or slander to the King or supporting the “usurped power of the bishop of Rome” be brought to the Lord Chancellor or to Thomas Cromwell within forty days.⁵⁵ On the strength of this proclamation, Marshall hired Godfray to bring out a second edition.

He also printed a good many criticisms of the church from the point of view of the great students of the common law, including three treatises by Christopher Saint German (published anonymously): *An answer to a letter* [on the royal supremacy], *A Treatise Concerninge the Power of the Clergye*, and a *Treatise Concerning Divers of the Constitutions Provincial and Legantine*, all probably in 1535. He also published two editions of Francis Bygod's *Treatise Concerning Impropriations of Benefices*.

We do not know why or when Godfray ceased printing. It is most unlikely that he was frightened into retirement. Thomas Cromwell was not to begin his fall from grace until the spring of 1539, and the last work printed by Godfray, a panegyric of Henry VIII, has been given the date of 1536-37, because of its mention of Queen Jane. He may have died, but his probate records have not been identified if this is so. Many of his woodcut historiated initials and title-page

decorations had passed to Richard Lant by 1539, others were used by John Mychell.

Let us look at Godfray's output by year and compare it against other material being published in English. He seems to have been trained as a printer by Richard Pynson, and set up on his own in 1530.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *L. & P.*, IX, 963. The full text is in *Tudor Royal Proclamations. Volume I. The Early Tudors, 1485-1553*. Edd. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964. No. 161, pp. 235-237. The occasion for the proclamation was to suppress the writings of Bishop John Fisher.

⁵⁶ Godfray made use of forty-two different woodcut historiated initials; twenty-two came from Pynson, by far the largest

In 1530, one hundred forty-two separate titles were published for the English market, of which fifty-two (37%) were religiously conservative, ten (7%) were religiously reformed, and eighty (56%) were not concerned with religion. Of the fifty-two conservative books, nineteen Latin service books were printed abroad. A bare majority of the twenty devotional books printed in England were reprints, six dating back to material first put in print in the 1490s. Only three of the controversial Reformed titles were published in England (none by Godfray). One was an official argument in Latin concerning the royal divorce; the other two were anonymous treatises by Christopher Saint German, presenting legal objections by an English expert on the common law to the pope's claims of jurisdiction. The rest were printed on the continent by the Tyndale circle.⁵⁷

In 1530, Thomas Godfray published two titles the moralising, religiously very conservative *History of King Boccus & Sydracke*. "Prynted at London by Thomas Godfray at the coste and charge of dan Robert Saltwode mo[n]ke of saynt Austens at Cantorbury" and William

number. Richard Pynson died or was incapacitated by the end of 1529. He left one book, Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* to be finished by his daughter's third husband, John Haukyns. Haukyns signed the volume, but he was a grocer, not a printer, and he employed Godfray to work on the book.

⁵⁷ The Reformed books printed in London were *Grauiissimae censurae* [on Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Aragon]; Anonymous. (Christopher Saint German.) *Hereafter foloweth a dyaloge...doctour of dyuynite and a student in the lawes of England*; and Anonymous (Christopher Saint German.) *The secunde dyaloge in Englysshe*. The controversial Reformed works published abroad were *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule*. Tr. and ed. by George Joye; William Tyndale. *The practyse of prelates*; and three Lollard works, Jerome Barlow. *A proper dyaloge betwene a gentilman and an husbandman*. With, *A compendious old treatyse; A compendious olde treatyse, shewynge, howe that we ought to have the scripture in Englysshe; The examinacion of William Thorpe...and syr J. Oldcastell*. They were all published in Antwerp with false names and addresses of printers.

Calverley's *A Dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the Defendaunt*.⁵⁸

In 1531, Godfray was still issuing conservative devotional material: St. Bernard, *The golden epistle...four reuelations of saynt Birget*, and Thomas à Kempis, *The folowyng of Christ (The Imitation of Christ)*, but he also may have published the first edition of the fiercely satirical John Skelton's *Collyn Clout*.⁵⁹

In 1532, he issued one of his very few dated works, the William Thynne edition of Chaucer's *Works* (without the *Plowman's Tale*). This was also the year that he first reprinted proscribed works from the Tyndale circle on the continent: Patrick Hamilton, *Dyuers frutefull gatherynges*, translated by John Frith and *The prayer and complaynte of the plowman unto Christe*.⁶⁰

The Plowman's Tale was on sale in the summer of 1533. Godfray also finished printing a work begun by Wynkyn de Worde, Du Wes. *Introductorie for to lerne...Frenche...compyled for ye lady Mary*. (Lady Mary was the king's eldest daughter, Mary Tudor.)

A reformist tract by Erasmus pointing out that the prohibition of the eating of flesh in Lent was not biblical, previously assigned to 1533, has been moved to 1534, because the reprint, which is almost

⁵⁸ The book is signed in the colophon by Godfray without date. A date of [1530-1532] is assigned because of the use of distinctive decorative strips and initials.

⁵⁹ The single copy survives at Woburn Abbey. It is not dated. Because of the provenance evidence discussed below, it might be better to move the date to 1533. The next edition was possibly published in 1545.

⁶⁰ They had both been first printed in Antwerp, probably in 1531. *The prayer and complaynte* was to appear on a list of proscribed books in 1546 as *The parable and complaint of a ploughman unto Christ*. The list was published in the 1563 edition of John Foxe. *Acts and Monuments (The Book of Martyrs)*.

certainly from that year, was partially printed from standing type.⁶¹ The translator is unknown, but almost certainly from Cromwell's circle. The work was first published by Froben in Basel in 1522.

Three conservative books which have been assigned to the years 1533-1534, although signed by John Mychell, have some relationship with Thomas Godfray. Thomas Langdon's *A lytell treatyse confoundyng the great eresyes*, Robert Saltwood, *A comparyson bytwene .iiij. Byrdes*, and John Lydgate's *The chorle and the byrde* all share text types, and in the case of the Lydgate, a factotum, with Godfray's *King Boccus*, which he definitely printed in London.⁶² These works are not of significance in themselves, but beginning in 1535, Mychell began to print radical material from the Tyndale circle. He used enough historiated initials that belonged to Godfray to make a positive connection between the two printers.

In 1534, Godfray continued printing reformed material to government order. He printed *The treatyse of the donation...of [Constantine I]*, which includes the declamation of Lorenzo Valla showing that it was a forgery. It was published by William Marshall working on the direct orders of Thomas Cromwell. He also printed the biting work by Marcort, *A Boke of Marchauntes. . . newly made by the lord Pantapole*. The translation has not been attributed to an individual, but it came out of Cromwell's circle. He also published two works translated by George Joye. *The Psalter of Dauid in Englishe*, translated by Joye after the version of Martin Bucer, and *The Proverbes of Solomon [with Ecclesiastes]*. Presumably it was reprinted from a lost continental edition. This, with the *Psalter*, were the first parts of the

⁶¹ E.J. Devereux. *Renaissance English Translations of Erasmus, A Bibliography to 1700*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983. 18. *Epistola apologetica de interdicto esu carnum*, 121-122. Devereux suggests a date of about 1534, because of the attack on certain church constitutions, under the royal privilege of the colophon. But see Reed, "Regulation of the Book Trade."

⁶² Langdon, signed Canterbury, J. Mychel; Saltwood, signed J. Mychel; Lydgate, signed Canterbury, J. Mychel.

reformed Bible to be printed in England.⁶³ He reprinted the reformist epistle of Erasmus on the eating of flesh. He also published *Exonoratorium curatorum*, selections from Peckham's *Constitutions*. This work, which contains the medieval rules governing the activities of the clergy, was a very popular text. It had been printed in London nine times before Godfray's edition. On the surface it was extremely conservative, but, under the circumstances of the religious revolution, it might have been printed for the purpose of criticism. The sole extant copy contains signatures A through C only. *The fountayne or well of lyfe . . . consolations for troubled consciences*, a collection of devotional Bible selections, is one of the earliest Reformed devotional works.⁶⁴ Godfray also published Stanbridge's *Sum es fui*, a perennial schoolbook. Godfray could not have made a living from printing propaganda alone; but the "steady sellers" of the sixteenth century have almost all disappeared. This is a tattered remnant of standard printing.

By 1535, the year of Godfray's greatest output of fourteen titles, reformed titles have overtaken the conservative material in all the English-language printing. One hundred twelve titles were published that year: sixteen (14%) religiously conservative, fifty-four (48%) religiously reformed, and forty-two (38%) non-religious. Ten of sixteen of the conservative titles were published in England; forty-four of fifty-four of the reformed titles. This was the year that Queen Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell were at the height of their powers. In England it saw the executions of Bishop John Fisher and Sir Thomas More for upholding obedience to the pope and Cromwell's inauguration of vicegerential courts, and suspension of all episcopal powers. On the continent, Henry's emissaries were flirting with the Lutherans. Bishop Stephen Gardiner wrote *De vera obedientia*, explaining that church and realm were two aspects of the same community. Cromwell paid for a translation of Marsiglio of Padua's

⁶³ DMH, Entries 7 and 10.

⁶⁴ It was reprinted by William Hill in 1548 or 1549, at the same time that he was reprinting Godfray's edition of the *Plowman's Tale*.

Defensor Pacis, the great medieval treatise on the subject.⁶⁵ Draft translations of biblical books were given to bishops and scholars to correct. Events seemed to be moving swiftly in the direction of adopting the general protestant agenda. The printers and booksellers seized the opportunity.

In 1535, Godfray published one conservative piece, a reprint of Bernard's *Epistle* and Briget's *Four revelations*. The rest was Reformed material. There were three Reformed devotional pieces, *Pater noster spoken of the sinner* and Girolamo Savonarola's *Esposition* on the fifty-first psalm (perhaps translated by William Marshall), and *The Primer in Englishshe, with dyuers prayers*, which was based on George Joye's *Ortulus anime*. There were a number of controversial treatises, including two editions of Bygod's *Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices*; two anonymous works by Christopher Saint German, *Answer to a letter [on the royal supremacy]*, and *Treatise concernynge dyuers of the constitucyons prouinciall and legantines*; a translation of Ulrich von Hutten's *Triades or trinites of Rome*; and a treatise that has not been attributed to any author, *Treatyse concerninge the power of the clergie, and the lawes of the realme*. One of the pieces that Godfray printed, a treatise showing that images are not to be suffered in churches, translated by Marshall of a Latin translation of a German work by Bucer, was sufficiently popular to call for a second edition with appendix.⁶⁶ Another, one of

the few dated pieces, was Marshall's edition of the discussion of the care of the poor people in Ypres.

In 1536, Godfray reprinted the 1535 Antwerp edition of

⁶⁵ Marshall, in the same letters to Cromwell, 1 April 1534, reporting that the work on the donation of Constantine was ready, said that the translation had been ready for a year, but the printer insisted on being paid in advance. Richard Wyer printed it.

⁶⁶ The sole copy of the first version lacks the title page. Marshall, not Godfray, signed the book, but Godfray used his distinctive historiated initials in both editions, and four of his standard decorative strips on the title page and colophon of the second edition.

Tyndale's *New Testament*, the first *New Testament* printed in England, and the only straight Tyndale version.⁶⁷ He also printed a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in London by Robert Singleton in 1535, and, more significantly, two editions of William Tyndale's *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, a reprint of the prologue of the Tyndale *New Testament*. A fragment survives of a panegyric of Henry VIII, which mentions Queen Jane [Seymour] who died in childbirth in October 1537.⁶⁸ That is the last book that he can be shown to have printed.

Yet there are five more works, in seven editions, of a radical Protestant nature, unsigned, but currently assigned to John Mychell, that contain historiated initials, and in one case, a title-page compartmented woodcut that belonged to Godfray. Of these, Tyndale's *Obedyence of a Chrysten man* and his *The Parable of the wicked mammon*, share elements with four different Godfray titles. *The [Augsburg Confession]* translated by Robert Singleton, John Frith's *An other boke against Rastel* and *Disputacion of purgatory* and two editions of the *Pater noster*, *the crede* and *the commaundementes in Englyshe* share initials with Godfray's *King Boccus* and text types with each other. There can be no doubt that the historiated initials were used by Mychell in works of a later date. The question is whether he collaborated with Godfray before the latter's retirement from business.

William Thynne, Editor

However large a role Godfray may have played in getting the *Plowmans Tale* into print, William Thynne, the editor of Chaucer, was crucial in getting the poem accepted as the work of the greatest English poet.⁶⁹ Thynne's son Francis, who wrote his *Animadversions* in the

⁶⁷ DMH, no. 27. All surviving copies are imperfect. The title-page compartment was used by Godfray in his 1532 Chaucer and the [1534] *Donation of Constantine*.

⁶⁸ He also printed a poem about the battle of Agincourt which only survives in a fragment.

⁶⁹ James E. Blodgett, "William Thynne (d. 1546)" in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, edited by Paul G. Ruggiers. (Norman,

1599, in response to Thomas Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, said that his father intended to publish it as if by Chaucer in his 1532 edition of Chaucer's works, but was prevented by Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey was an enemy of Thynne's because Thynne had sheltered John Skelton when he was writing *Colin Clout*. There is a chronological problem here, of course: the cardinal died in 1529. But it is possible that Thynne had discovered it in circulation in manuscript (with the "bridge" into the *Canterbury Tales* in place) when he began his search for new poems by Chaucer to include in his proposed edition. Even though he was not allowed to publish it as a work of Chaucer in the collected *Works*, Thynne released it to Godfray who was able to publish it separately.

John Skelton's Colin Clout and the Plowmans Tale

Cardinal Wolsey was prescient if he indeed associated the *Plowman's Tale* and Skelton's *Colin Clout*. In the expense notebook of Sir Adrian Fortescue, at the Public Record Office among Thomas Cromwell's seized papers, is the clear entry, "Item pd for two English boks viz. the plowmans tale and colin cloute. 10d." It can be dated between 27 June and 3 July 1533. Fortescue, a close cousin of Anne Boleyn, bought the two poems together for ten pence. This could only have been from Thomas Godfray, who printed them both in uniform editions.⁷⁰ This was an ironic pairing for a poet who attacked heresy with gusto and mentioned Lollardy with loathing.

Was the hatred that the Boleyn faction felt for Wolsey sufficient for a member of the family to overlook heresy and simply enjoy the *Plowmans Tale* as a good example of prelate-bashing? Did he sincerely believe that the poem was by Chaucer? Fortescue was orthodox enough to be considered a Catholic martyr.⁷¹ His notebook survives among Cromwell's papers because he was summarily arrested

Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984), 35-52.

⁷⁰ The Short-Title Catalogue dates *Colin Clout* to 1531. It might be proper to move it to the year 1533 as well.

⁷¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

in a great act of attainder that rounded up most of the surviving Pole family. He was executed in July, 1539.⁷²

Later Sixteenth-Century Editions

Thomas Cromwell was arrested at the Council table on 10 June, 1540. His enemies, who had gradually gaining on him for the past year, were finally able to bring him down. He was charged with treason and heresy, not Lutheranism but having caused books to be translated into English expressly against the sacrament of the altar. He was executed on 28 July 1540. Two days later, three Lutherans: Robert Barnes, William Jerome and Thomas Garret were burned at the stake. The Henrician Reformation was over.

In 1542, a Statute was enacted in the name of Henry VIII, *An Acte for thadvancement of true Religion and for thabolishment of the contrarie*. All books printed in English before 1540 were forbidden except certain named religious books, statutes of the realm, chronicles, "Canterbury tales, Chaucers bokes, Gowers bokes and stories of mennes lieves." On the second try, protected by a specific statute, William Thynne slipped the *Plowmans Tale* into the Chaucer canon. The 1542 edition was taken directly from the 1533 edition; it differs from it only by insignificant printer's errors.⁷³ It was not integrated into the *Canterbury Tales*, however, but printed at the end, following the *Parson's Tale*.

The poem was published independently in about 1548: the title-page says baldly "The Plouumans tale compylled by syr Geffray Chaucher knyght." It is signed in the colophon by William Hyll. It is not dated, but it is plausible to think that it was published during the first full year of the reign of King Edward VI, once his guardians had

⁷² The quotation is from a photocopy of pages from the original notebook, Public Record Office SP 1/82. It is calendared in *L. and P.*, Vol. VII, 100-101.

⁷³ The two variants of the 1542 edition, STC 5069, W. Bonham and STC 5070, J. Reynes were both printed by Richard Grafton and do not vary in the text.

made it clear that he was indeed a Protestant monarch. The printer/publisher/bookbinder William Hill put his name to works for only three years: 1547 through 1549. His specialty was reprinting Protestant material that had not been safe to publish for fifteen years. He printed thirty-nine works in the three years: thirty-five, including many Tyndale and Becon titles, were tendentiously Protestant. His *Plowmans Tale* was without introduction or side notes, a sloppily printed straight reprint of the 1542 Thynne edition.

Chaucer's *Works*, containing the *Plowman's Tale*, were republished in ca. 1550 and 1561. In both cases, the *Plowman's Tale* was a reprint with gradually modernized spelling based on the 1542 edition of the *Works*. The circa 1550 edition of the *Plowmans Tale* was taken from the 1542 edition and did not make use of the 1548 edition. Nor did the 1561 edition, which was taken from the circa 1550 edition. In no case was a new manuscript introduced. However, a significant change was made in the placement of the *Plowmans Tale*. Thynne had placed it at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*, but beginning with the circa 1550 edition it took its place after the *Manciple's Tale* and before the *Parson's Tale*.

John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, The Book of Martyrs

Before we look at the two editions of Chaucer's *Works* edited by Thomas Speght, it is important that we acknowledge the tremendous influence of Foxe's great work on the perception of Chaucer as a "proto-Protestant." Foxe used the *Plowman's Tale* to make his point. "As also I am partlye informed of certeine, whiche knewe the parties, which of them reported, that by readyng of Chausers workes, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion. And not unlike to be true. For to omitte other partes of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can bee more playnely tolde, then the talke of the ploughman? Or what finger can pointe out more directly the Pope with his Prelates to be Antichrist than doth the poore Pellican reasonyng agaynst the gredy Griffon? Under which *Hypoteposis* or Poesie, who is so blind that seeth not the Pellicane, the doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollardes to bee defended agaynst the Church of Rome? . . . [It is] no great maruell, if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes: which notwithstanding now is

restored agayne, and is extant, for euery man to read that is disposed.” Foxe knew the *Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman* “whick booke as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindall” and he printed *Jack Upland* as if by Chaucer.⁷⁴

Foxe placed the *Plowman's Tale* squarely in the center for the proper Protestant appreciation of Chaucer. Chained copies of this massive work--the 1570 edition was over 2,000 pages, double columns in two volumes--was ordered by government agencies to be placed on display for public perusal. The convocation of bishops voted on April 3, 1570 that copies should be placed in cathedral churches, and in the houses of archbishops, bishops, deacons and archdeacons. The prelates wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of London, who ordered “at the costes of the Chamber [of London], provyde and set vp in th[e] orphans courte, faste cheyned, one booke of the laste pryntinge of *actes and monumentes* for all men to looke vpon for their better instructions. . . . “ Many parish churches procured copies for themselves, and even individuals of fairly modest means considered the work to be their greatest treasure after the Bible.⁷⁵

Thomas Speght

Thomas Speght did not change the text of the *Plowman's Tale* in his editions of Chaucer's *Works*. For his 1598 edition, he made use of the 1561 edition; for his 1602 edition, he made use of the 1561 and his own 1598 editions. It has not been able to prove that he used any earlier editions. He did, however, add editorial matter (mostly provided

⁷⁴John Foxe, *Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Euery Kynges Tyme in This Realme*. 2d ed. London: Iohn Daye, 1570, Vol. 1, 341, 494; Vol. 2, 965-966.

⁷⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*. Ed. Edward Arber. 5v. Privately printed, 1875-1894. Reprint. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967, I, 496.

by John Leland or John Stow,⁷⁶ the antiquaries) to "prove" that the poem was indeed by Chaucer. Because he accepted, without question, this "proto-Protestant" poem as Chaucer's, he looked for evidence that demonstrated Chaucer's Lollard sympathies and anti-clericalism. Speght was the first Chaucer editor to assert that Chaucer was educated at Oxford University "by all likelihood in Canterburie [College] or in Merton Colledge, with *John Wickelife*, whose opinion in religion he much affected." He also reported that a record survived at the Inner Temple documenting that Chaucer was fined 2 shillings for beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet street in London.⁷⁷ This tendency to look for further evidence of Chaucer's Lollard sympathies led Speght to add another Lollard work to the Chaucer canon. Having hesitated in 1598, he added the Lollard *Jack Upland* to the 1602 edition.

The 1606 edition of the Plowmans Tale

On January 17 1605/1606, *The Plough-mans Tale. Shewing by the doctrine and lives of the Romish clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist, and they his Ministers. Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer, Knight, amongst his Canterburie tales; and now set out apart from the rest, with a short exposition of the words and matters, for the capacitie and understanding of the simpler sort of Readers* was registered with the Stationers Company.⁷⁸ The regulation of printing in London had changed dramatically since the 1530s. In 1557, King Philip and Queen Mary had granted a charter to the Stationers' Company, giving ninety-seven stationers control of the booksellers and printers. First, all printers had to be freemen of the Company of London unless they had royal permission to print. Secondly, the Master and Wardens of the Company were to have the right to search the houses and business

⁷⁶ Stow had been responsible for the 1561 edition of Chaucer's *Works* and had continued to search for primary material on Chaucer when his interest turned to the history of London. Anne Hudson, "John Stow (1525?-1605) in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, edited by Paul G. Ruggiers. (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1984), 53-70.

⁷⁷ Chaucer, *Works* (1598), biii^{r-v}.

⁷⁸ *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*. Ed. Arber, III, 133^v.

premisses of all printers, binders, and booksellers in the kingdom, to seize anything printed contrary to statute or proclamation, and to imprison anyone who printed without qualification or resisted their search. The regulation of printing had moved from ecclesiastical control before 1530, to direct royal control until 1557, to self-policing by the Stationers' Company. This lasted until the early eighteenth century. The main consequences were two: printing concentrated in the city of London, and booksellers gradually became more important than the printers. The Stationers' Company Registers are the records of copyright, so that the booksellers might have a monopoly for a limited time on texts that they had bought from the authors. Authors sold their manuscripts to the bookseller who would give them the most favorable terms. They in turn contracted with printers to set the books in type.⁷⁹

The name of the editor appears nowhere in the printed version of the *Plowman's Tale*, but there is no need to doubt the attribution to Antony Wotton, a fervent Puritan clergyman and controversialist, neatly inscribed on the title page of one of the Houghton Library, Harvard copies.⁸⁰

Antony Wotton was a figure of importance in Puritan circles in London. As a young man he had been chaplain to the Earl of Essex, to whom he owed his appointment as the first professor of divinity of Gresham College. In 1606 he was an independent preacher and intellectual in the city.

Wotton was an unabashed Puritan, who might have become a bishop during the reign of Elizabeth, but was out of step with the Jacobean high churchmen. He attended Cambridge, where he came under the spell of William Perkins, the famous Puritan preacher and teacher who managed to translate the speculations of the philosophers into practical divinity. Wotton had been a candidate for the Regius Professorship of divinity at Cambridge, but was passed over in favor of

⁷⁹ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959*. 1960. Reprint. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1977 remains the best survey of the Company history..

⁸⁰Houghton Library 12427.35B*.

John Overall, a future bishop. He had so impressed the Earl of Essex with his piety and debating skills in 1594, that he made him his chaplain.

Essex's influence undoubtedly helped him become the first professor of divinity at Gresham College, a London foundation that, unlike the universities of the day, allowed its professors to range freely among the sources of practical value to the merchants and seamen of England. Sir Thomas Gresham, who died in 1579, built the Royal Exchange in order to generate revenue to endow his college. The money was carefully put into the hands of merchants, not clerics, and it paid (more than the professors at Oxford and Cambridge) for seven professorships: Divinity, Law, Rhetoric, Music, Physic, Geometry and Astronomy. The senior professorship, first held by Wotton, was divinity. It was founded to combat Popery: the duty of its holder was to write and speak "against the common adversary of the Church of Rome." He did not keep the post for long: in 1598 he resigned on the occasion of his marriage.

In 1606 Wotton held the post of Lecturer at All Hallows Barking near the Tower, one of the lectureships that had been founded by Puritanically-minded London merchants to support their own brand of preaching independent of Church of England funding. For twenty-eight years until his death he was able to use his pulpit to comment on the affairs of the day. He was not completely free of episcopal supervision: in 1604 he was briefly suspended by Bishop Bancroft for praying "God to open the eyes of the King, that he may be resolved in the truth, without respect of antiquity," but during his lifetime he stayed out of controversies in print with other Protestants and instead concentrated on writing against the Catholics.

Wotton's edition of the *Plowmans Tale* was a minor work in his lifelong effort to combat obscurantism by logical argument. A logician to the core, he edited his son's translation of Ramus's *Art of Logic*. Rather surprisingly he was accused of Socinianism in 1611, but was cleared of the charge. He published four major works during his lifetime. By far the most substantial was his *Defense of Mr. Perkins Work Called the Reformed Catholike* (1606). Also important were *A Trial of the Roman Clergies Title to the Church* (1608); *Sermons Upon the First Part of the First Chapter of the Gospel of John* (1609) and

Runne from Rome (1624). The *Defense of Mr. Perkins* is six hundred pages of reply to the Catholic spokesman William Bishop's *Deformed Reformation*, reprinting all of Bishop's work while refuting it paragraph by paragraph. It was entered in the Register of the Stationers Company the day before the *Plowmans Tale*.⁸¹ *An Answer to a Popish Pamphlet...entituled: Certaine Articles or forcible reasons discovering the palpable absurdities and most notorious errors of the Protestants* (1605), is typical of his minor works. He engaged in pamphlet warfare with both the Catholic parish clergy, represented by William Bishop, and the Jesuits. Once he was safely dead, his heirs released (anonymously) *A dangerous plot discovered: by a discourse, wherein is proved, that, M. Richard Montague,... laboureth to bring in the faith of Rome and Arminius, vnder the name and pretense of the doctrine and faith of the Church of England*,⁸² where he turned his talents for invective against the High Churchmen. Christopher Hill sums up Wotton as having "a good radical career."⁸³

Speght's 1602 edition of the poem in Chaucer's *Works* appealed to Antony Wotton when he was looking for ammunition to cast at the Roman Catholics in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot. Wotton checked his text of the *Plowmans Tale* against the 1598, and 1602 Chaucer editions, but he took the text that he quoted in his side notes from the 1602 edition. There is no evidence that he knew or used the independent editions.⁸⁴ He knew some of the other Plowman

⁸¹ *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, III. 133^v. It was entered by the bookseller Cuthbert Burby and printed by Felix Kyngston. There is no particular pattern for Wotton's choice of bookseller/publishers or their choice of printers.

⁸²STC 15248, STC 26004, STC 26009, STC 26008, STC 26005, STC 26002 and STC 26003.

⁸³*Dictionary of National Biography*; Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution*. 1965. Repr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 55-56.

⁸⁴There are three lines, out of 1,380, where Wotton goes back to readings earlier than 1598, but given the number of printers' errors

poems: he cites a line of *Pierce the Plowmans Crede* (first published in London in 1553 by Reyner Wolf), but does not show a direct knowledge of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*.⁸⁵ He also knew *Jack Upland*, which Speght had attributed to Chaucer in 1602.

Wotton buried his text in over 500 side notes. Most of them are paraphrases of obsolete terms, to translate them into contemporary English. He was widely knowledgeable about linguistic developments; his explications of Middle English words and phrases are almost invariably accurate.

Wotton was using the book for his own propaganda purposes, and frequently went beyond the text. His relentless antipapalism shows in such comments as the note to lines 493 and 494. The poem reads: "What is Antichrist to say?/ But even Christs adversarie." Wotton's comment is "What is the signification of Antichrist, but Christs adversary? one that is an enemy to Christ, against Christ, it may also be expounded, instead of Christ, as the Pope calles himsele Christs vicar, making a shew as if he were appointed to rule the church in Christs stead." Frequently Wotton specifies the Pope as Antichrist where the poet was referring to the church in the world in general.

We must not forget that Wotton had reason to be disgusted with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of England. Although he seems never to have made public statements in favor of a presbyterian governance of the church, his comment at lines 1115 and 1116 go

that abound in the various editions, this agreement is insufficient to say that he consulted early editions. Line 429 "her king" agrees with 1533, 1542 and 1548, but no later readings; Line 1261 "Wolde ye turne" agrees with 1533, 1542, 1548, but no later readings; Side note to line 375 "Or take such cursed" agrees with 1561, but no earlier readings.

⁸⁵*Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* was first printed in 1553 by Reyner Wolfe (STC 19904). In 1561 it was published with Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* (STC 19908). There were no later editions. Wotton did not cite the *Vision*; he may have used the 1553 edition of the *Crede*. He may have gotten some of his knowledge of the other Plowman material from John Foxe's writings and not directly.

beyond the text. The poem reads, "Maisters to be called defended he [that is Christ] tho:/ All other Maisters ben wicked and fals." Wotton glosses this as: "Defended: Forbad us to be called maisters: namely, as that men should depend upon any minister, farther than according as he can prove, that he delivers by Scripture, to be the word of God."

In two places, Wotton criticizes Chaucer for not being Protestant enough. Lines 1217-1220: "On our Lords body I doe not lie,/ I say sooth through true rede,/ His flesh and blood through his mysterie/ Is there, in the forme of brede." Wotton's comment is "His flesh and blood: Chawcer saw somewhat, though not all: it no easie matter to leave errors we have been nousled in."

Whereas the medieval poet had sidestepped a discussion of the Real Presence with the remark that his concerns were ethical and that the would leave the argument to the Schoolmen,

"On our Lords body I doe not lie,
I say sooth through true rede,
His flesh and blood through his mysterie
Is there, in the forme of brede:
How it is there, it needeth not striue.
Whether it be subget or accident,
But as Christ was, when he was on liue,
So is there verament." (1217-1224)

Wotton felt that he had to apologize for "Chaucer," and glossed line 1219, "His flesh and blood: *Chawcer* saw somewhat, though not all: it is no easie matter to leaue errours that we haue bin nousled in."

In the same way, the poet at the end of the poem declares himself ready to retract all his criticisms, and blames it all on the Pelican,

"Witeth the Pelican and not me,
For hereof I nill not auow;
In high ne in low, ne in no degree,
But as a fable take it ye mowe:
To holy church I will me bow,
Each man to amend him Christ send space:
And for my writing me allow,
He that is almighty for his grace." (1373-1380)

Wotton comments on line 1376, "As a fable: But yee must take it as a

tale. *Chaucer declineth the enuie, and auoydeth the rage of the Popish Cleargie, for his writing thus plainly and boldly.*" Wotton is embarrassed for Chaucer.

We must remember that Wotton was writing at the far side of the great divide: confident Protestantism was triumphant in England. The poem, as we have seen above, has a very anticlimactic ending: the Plowman/Narrator blames all the criticism in the poem on the Pelican: "Witeth the Pelican and not me," he says. He offers to retract all and bow to the mandates of holy church. Wotton is disappointed in his hero and says, "*Chaucer declineth the envie, and avoydeth the rage of the Popish Cleargie, for his writing thus plainly and boldly.*" The original author of the poem, in clear danger of imprisonment or worse, quite understandably wished to survive to write another day. He knew that at all times the church encouraged abjuration from heresy, and that the typical response of a Lollard who had been arrested was to agree to perform public penance.

But Wotton, born in 1561, was undoubtedly brought up on Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* with its examples of heroism under the most severe torments. From reading the latest biographical information on Chaucer, as supplied by Speght, he knew that the poet had been a disciple of Wyclif. Wotton, who looked upon Chaucer as a personal as well as a literary hero, was disappointed in him.

He had a wide knowledge of Chaucer; we might say he was attracted to almost every Chaucerian piece that has been questioned in the twentieth century because it is not the product of Chaucer the advocate of Courtly Love. He welcomed the appearance of *Jack Upland* in the canon.⁸⁶ Because *Upland* recounts the search for a true Christian mode of conduct, a "creed" if one will, Wotton was able to suggest that it, rather than *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*, was the "crede" written by the Pelican.⁸⁷ (He did not claim that the *Crede* was by

⁸⁶*Jack Upland* was first printed separately by the radical bookseller John Gough about 1536.

⁸⁷ Wotton's note to Line 1065: A Creede: Some thinke hee means the questions of *Jack-vpland*, or perhaps *Pierce Ploughmans*

Chaucer, but in his note to Line 302 he quoted Line 744 of the *Crede* as a censure of social climbers.) Thus he used the *Plowmans Tale* as justification to add another piece to the canon.

Wotton also seems to have had in mind that fragment of the translation of *Romaunt of the Rose*, fragment C, that William Thynne had first added to the Chaucer canon in 1532 and which appeared in all the sixteenth-century editions of Chaucer's *Works*. Fragment C is the last 1,900 of almost 8,000 lines from the *Romaunt*, but Thomas Speght, who Wotton was following, singled it out for special comment, "In this booke the Author hath many glaunces at the hypocrisie of the Clergie; whereby hee got himselfe such hatred amongst them. . ." ⁸⁸ In this section of the poem, originally by Jean de Meun, the author attacks the Papacy by contrasting the lordly attitude of Peter with the love and charity of John. Speaking in the person of Fals-Semblant, the author asks, "Thus moche wol our booke signifye/ That whyle Peter hath maistrye/ May neuer Johan shewe wel his might." (Lines 7263-7265). In his note to lines 440-442, Wotton asks, "Why should Peter be called the Prince of the Apostles, whereas he erred, and John did not? Fals-Semblant specifically refers to himself as Antichrist." ⁸⁹ Skeat rejected this translation as not by Chaucer, and this opinion has been upheld. ⁹⁰ Chaucer did make use of the *Romaunt*, but not this section.

Creede. For *Chaucer* speakes this in the person of the Pellican, not his owne person.

⁸⁸ Chaucer. *The Works*, 1532. Ed Derek S. Brewer. From 1598 edition, unpaginated.

⁸⁹ Fals-Semblant speaks, "Of Antechristes menne am I." (Line 7009), and continues: Thus Antechrist abyden we/ For we ben of his meyne/ And what manne that wol nat be so/ Right soone he shal his lyfe for go/ Outward Lamben semen we/ Ful of goodnesse and of pyte/ And inwarde we withouten fable/ Bene gredy Wolves rauysable (Lines 7060-7070).

⁹⁰ The scholarly arguments for banishment or inclusion in the canon are summarized in Russell A. Peck. *Annotated Bibliography*, 1-75.

Wotton, in a note to Line 255, concerning the fact that Christians should not take unnecessary oaths, mentions Chaucer's *Testament of Love*, Book I, fol. 278. This is another work first added by William Thynne, but subsequently removed from the canon. The author is now accepted to be Thomas Usk of London, executed in 1388 for a plot during the reign of Richard II. The piece combines Boethian musings on personal misfortune with an adaptation of a work by St. Anselm on free will. There are no surviving manuscripts; Thynne is the sole authority.⁹¹

Wotton and Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar

Wotton was quite confident that Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* reflected a deep knowledge of the *Plowman's Tale*. Lines 7 through 10 of the *Envoy* to the *Calendar* read: "Goe lyttle Calender, thou hast a free passeporte,/ Goe but a lowly gate emongste the meaner sorte./ Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus hys style,/ Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman played a whyle." Tityrus is, of course, Chaucer, but who was the Plowman? Not, I submit, Langland's Piers. I quoted above line 43 of the Prologue to the *Plowman's Tale*, "they have the corne and we the dust." Wotton immediately thought of lines 188 through 193 of the September *Aeclogue* of the *Shepherd's Calendar*: "Theyr sheepe han crustes and the bread:/ the chippes and they the chere:/ They han the fleece, and eke the flesh,/(O seely sheepe the while)/ The corne is theirs, let others thresh,/ Their hands they may not file." Other lines of the poem are echoed in the *Shepherd's Calendar*: "Glitterand gold" in Line 134, "In couetise they ben curious" in Line 384, "Such that been full fat and ranke" in Line 407, "The priest purchaseth the offerings" in Line 905, "But liuest in lond as a lorell" in

⁹¹ Peck. *Annotated Bibliography*, 351-355. Wotton's reference is incorrect. Fol. 278 is in Book II of the *House of Fame* in all the sixteenth-century editions. His reference is probably to a passage in Fol. 292. [Margaret speaks] "Euery oth by knitting of copulacion muste haue these lawes. That is true iudgement and rightwisenesse, in whiche thing, if any of these lacke, the othe is iturned into the name of perjury. . . ensample of Herodes for holding of his serment, was dampned." Speght ed., 1598.

Line 1138.⁹²

That an intelligent contemporary believed that the *Plowmans Tale* had a direct and important influence on Spenser, and the heavy proto-Protestant message that it carried influenced Spenser's view of all Chaucer's work, is important evidence in our understanding of English Renaissance poetry.⁹³

A lesser writer of the seventeenth century made overt use of the *Plowmans Tale* to make some astonishing claims about Chaucer the proto-Protestant. Andrew Wawn discusses the *Golden Fleece*, a tract by Sir William Vaughan, published in 1626, in which Chaucer, the author of the *Plowmans Tale*, was John Wyclif's master. According to Vaughan, the poem "wrought so much alteration in succeeding times that *John Wickliffe, Iohnn Husse, Ierome of Prague, Luther*, and others now stiling themselves *Protestants*, had quite abandoned their Mother *Church of Rome*." (p. 111). Vaughan mined the *Plowman's Tale* for lines for Duns Scotus to use to attack Chaucer as a heretic, and for Chaucer to use in rebuttal. Chaucer's reply is largely an attack on the Pope as Antichrist, and includes a list of the ten marks of Antichrist as found in ecclesiastical practice. Vaughan's vision of the *Plowmans Tale* as centered on the figure of the Pope as Antichrist is obviously drawn straight from the 1606 edition of the poem.⁹⁴

⁹² See the endnotes to the lines cited, printed at the end of the 1606 version..

⁹³ This is brilliantly discussed in the first chapter of John N. King's *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition*.

⁹⁴ Three seventeenth-century citations of the *Plowmans Tale* should be added to those noted by Caroline Spurgeon. Franklin B. Williams noted Antony Wotton, *a Defense of Mr. Perkins Booke, Called a Reformed Catholike*, (1606), 496 note. Andrew N. Wawn cited Simon Birkbeck, *The Protestant's Evidence taken Ovt of Good Records* (1635), 63 and John Favour, *Antiquitie Trivmphing Over Noveltie* (1619) 409-410.

As late as 1641, Milton quoted two whole stanzas from the *Plowmans Tale* in his tract *On the Reformation of Church-Government*, as a "caution to beware of her bishops in time." The poem was included in the 1687 reprint of Chaucer's *Works*, but held little appeal to the Augustans. It was first questioned in the eighteenth century when the gentlemanly Chaucer was the ideal. In the nineteenth century Chaucer the robust proto-Protestant became a favorite Victorian hero for such enthusiasts as William Morris. The poem might have been restored to the canon had not the development of modern historical methods proven that it could not have been by Chaucer. Thomas Wright and W.W. Skeat identified it correctly as a Lollard piece but dismissed it as unskillful poetry. In this century, scholarship is beginning to take note of it as an important statement of the Lollard position just before it was outlawed.

There is a certain irony that the longest and most elaborate of the Lollard poems was preserved for posterity under the sheltering wing of the genial genius of the fourteenth century. For over two hundred years the Pelican and the Griffin enjoyed the company of Chauncleer, Pertelote, and the world's chattiest eagle.

The Plowman's Tale, 1533

[The ploughman's tale. In verse.]

(T. Godfray,) [1533.]

Lacks title page and first leaf.

[Missing text, lines 1-36, supplied in the hand of Richard Farmer, d. 1797]

*Here beginneth the Plowmannes
Prologue.*

.1.

<i>The Plowmanne plucked vp his plowe.</i>	1
<i>Whan Midsomer Moone was comen in¹</i>	
<i>And saide his bestes shuld eate inowe</i>	
<i>And lige in the grass vp to the chin</i>	
<i>They ben feble both oxen and cowne²</i>	5
<i>Of hem nys lefte but bone and skinne</i>	
<i>He shoke of her shere and cultre of drowe</i>	
<i>And hanged his harnis on a pinne.</i>	

.2.

<i>He toke his tabarde and his staffe eke</i>	
<i>And on his hedde he sett his hat</i>	10
<i>And said he wolde saint Thomas seke</i>	
<i>On pilgrimage³ he goeth forth plat</i>	
<i>In scrip he bare both bred & lekes</i>	
<i>He was forswonke & all forswat</i>	
<i>Men might haue sene through both his chekes⁴</i>	15
<i>And euery wang toth & where it sat</i>	

.3.

Our hoste behelde well all about
And saw this man⁵ was sunne ibrent
He knewe well by his senged snout
And by his clothes that were to rent 20
He was a man wont to walke about
He nas nat alwaie in cloister ipente
He could not religiousliche loute
And therfore was he fully shent.

.4.

Our host him axed, what man art thou? 25
Sir, quoth he, I am an hine
For I am wont to go to the plow⁶
And earne my meate yer that I dine⁷
To swet and swinke I make auowe
My wife and children therwith to finde 30
And serue God and I wist howe
But we leude men ben full blinde.

.5.

For clerkes saie we shullen be faine
For her liuelod swette & swinke⁸
And they right nought us giue again 35
Neither to eat ne yet to drinke
They mowe by lawe/ as they sayne
Vs curse and dampne to helle brinke
Thus they putten vs to payne
With candels queynte and belles clynke 40

.6.

They make vs thralles at her lust
And sayne we mowe nat els be saued
They haue the corne/ and we the dust⁹
Who speketh ther agayn the say he raued
What man/ q[uod] our host/ canst thou preche 45
Come nere and tell us some holy thyng
Syr/ quod he/ I herde ones teche
A preest in pulpyt a good prechyng

.7.

Say/ on quod our host/ I the beseche
Syr I am redy at your byddyng
I pray you that no man me reproche
Whyle that I am my tale tellyng.

50

*Thus endeth the prologue/ and here
foloweth the fyrst parte of this
present worke.*

NARRATIO [Part I]

.1.

A sterne stryfe is stered newe
 In many stedes in a stounde,
 Of sondrie sydes that be sewe 55
 It semeth that some ben vnsounde¹⁰
 For some be great growen vngrounde:
 Some ben souble/ symple and small,
 Whether of hem is falsere founde
 The falsere foule mote hym befall. 60

.2.

That one syde is/ that I of tell
 Popes/ cardynals/ and Prelates
 Parsons/ monkes/ and Freres fell
 Priours/ abbottes of great estates
 Of heuyn and helle they kepe the yates 65
 And Peters successours they ben all
 This is demed by olde dates
 But falshed foule mought it be fall¹¹

.3.

The other syde ben poore and pale
 And people put out of prease 70
 And seme caytyffes sore a cale
 And euer in one without encrease
 Iclepeth¹² lollers and¹³ londlese
 Who toteth on hem they bene vntall¹⁴
 They ben arayde all for the peace 75
 But falshed foule mote it befall

.4.

Many a countrey haue a sought
 To knowe the falsere of these two
 But euer my traueyle was for nought
 All so ferre as I haue go 80
 But as I wandred in a wro
 In a wodde besyde a wall

Two foules sawe I sytte tho
The falsen foule mote hym befall.

.5.

Gryffon.

That one dyde plede on the Popes syde	85
A Gryffon of a grymme stature	
A Pellycane withouten pryde	
To these lollers layde his lure	
He mused his mater in measure	
To counsayle Christ euer gan he call	90
The Gryffon shewed as sharpe as fyre	
But falshed foule mote it be fall	

.6.

Pellycan

The Pellycan began to preche ¹⁵	
Bothe of mercy and of mekenesse	
And sayd/ that Christ so gan vs teche	95
And meke and mercyable gan blesse	
The Euangely bereth wytnesse	
A lambe he lykeneth Christ ¹⁶ ouer all ^a	
In tokenyng that he mekest was ¹⁷	
Sith pride was out of heuyn fall	100

^a*Ecce agnus dei.* John 1:29. Altera die videt Iohannes Iesum venientem ad se, et ait; Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi. The next day, when John caught sight of Jesus coming toward him, he exclaimed: "Look! There is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!" All Latin quotations completed from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. Nova editio, Alberto Colunga et Laurentio Turrado. Septima Editio. (Madrid, 1985.) English translations from *The New American Bible*. Translated by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America. (Nashville, 1970.)

.7.

And so shulde euery Christned be^b
 Preestes/ Peters successours
 Beth lowlyche and of lowe degre.
 And vsen none erthly¹⁸ honours^c
 Neyther crowne/ ne curious couetours
 Ne pylloure/ ne other proude pall^d
 Ne nought to cofren vp great treasours
 For falsched foule mote it befall

105

.8.

Preestes shulde for no catell plede^e

^b*Exemplum dedi vobis.* John 13:14-15. Si ergo ego lavi vestros pedes Domines et magister et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes exemplum enim dedi vobis ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis ita et vos faciatis. [After he had washed their feet, he put his cloak back on and reclined at table once more. He said to them: You address me as 'Teacher' and 'Lord,' and fittingly enough, for that is what I am.] But if I washed your feet--I who am Teacher and Lord--then you must wash each other's feet. What I just did was to give you an example: as I have done, so you must do.

^c*Qui maior est uestrum.* Matthew 23:11. Qui maior est vestrum erit minister vester. The greatest among you will be the one who serves the rest.

^d*Nolite thesaurizare.* Matthew 6:19-20. Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: ubi aerugo, et tinea demolitur: et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesuarizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo, ubi neque aerugo, neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt, nec furantur. Do not lay up for yourselves an earthly treasure. Moth and rust corrode; thieves break in and steal. Make it your practice instead to store up heavenly treasure, which neither moths no rust corode nor thieves break in and steal.

^e[A] *Qui uoluerit tecum co[n]tendere i[n] iudicio.&c.* Who shall wish to contend with you in [a court of] law. [B] *Cum uocat fueris ad nuptias recu[m]be in nouissimuo loco &.* *Qui se exaltat humiliabitur.* Luke 14:8-

But chasten hem in charite¹⁹ 110
 Ne to no bateyle shulde men lede
 For inhaunsyng of her owne degree
 Nat wylne syttynges in hye see
 Ne souerayntie in house ne hall
 All worldly worshyppe defye and flee 115
 For who so wylleth highnes foule shal fall

.9.

Alas who may suche sayntes call^f

11. Cum invitatus fueris ad nuptias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honorator te sit invitatus ab illo. Et veniens is, qui te et illum vocavit, dicat tibi: Da huic locum: et tunc incipias cum rubore novissimum locum tenere. Sed cum vocatus fueris, vade, recumbe in novissimo loco: ut, cum venerit qui te invitavit, dicat tibi: Amice, ascende superius. Tunc erit tibi gloria coram simul discumbentibus: quia omnis, qui se exalt, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur. "When you are invited by someone to a wedding party, do not sit in the place of honor in case some greater dignitary has been invited. Then the host might come and say to you, 'Make room for this man,' and you would have to proceed shamefacedly to the lowest place. What you should do when you have been invited is go and sit in the lowest place, so that when your host approaches you he will say, 'My friend, come up higher.' This will win you the esteem of your fellow guests. For everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled and he who humbles himself shall be exalted."

'Reges gentium dominantur eorum que domina[n]tes. Luke 22:25-26. Dixit autem eis: Reges gentium dominantur eorum: et qui potestatem habent super eos, benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic: sed qui maior est in vobis, fiat sicut minor: et qui praecessor est, sicut ministrator. He said: "Earthly kings lord it over their people. Those who exercise authority over them are called their benefactors. Yet it cannot be that way with you. Let the greater among you be as the junior, the leader as the servant."

Nisi habundauerit iustitia uestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum. Matthew 5:20. Dico enim vobis, quia nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra plus quam scribarum et pharisaeorum, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum. I

That wylneth welde erthlye honour
 As lowe as Lucifere suche shall fall
 In balefull blackenesse buylden her boure 120
 That eggeth the people to errour
 And maketh them to hem thrall
 To Christ I holde suche one traytour
 As lowe as Lucifere suche one shall fall

.10.

That wylleth to be kynges peeres^g 125
 And higher than the Emperour
 Some that were but poore Freres
 Nowe wollen waxe a warryour
 God is nat her gouernour
 That holdeth no man his permagall 130
 Whyle couetyse is her counsaylour
 All suche falshed mote nede fall

.11.

That hye on horse wylleth ryde²⁰
 In glytterande golde of great aray²¹
 Ipaynted and portred all in pride 135
 No co[m]men knyght may go so gaye
 Change of clothyng euery daye
 with golden gyrdels great and small
 As boystous as is bere at baye
 All suche falshed mote nede fall 140

.12.

With pryde ponyshed the poore^h

tell you, unless your holiness surpasses that of the scribes and Pharisees you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.

^g*Non in equalibus bellicosus.* Not [laymen's] equal in making war.

^h*Ve pastoribus Israel q pascebant semetipsos. Ezech. xxxiiii.* Ezechiel 34:2. Fili hominis, propheta de pastoribus Israel; Propheta, et dices pastoribus: Haec dicit Dominus Deus: Vae pastoribus Israel, qui

And some they sustayne with sale
 Of holy churche maketh an hore
 And fylleth her wombe with wyne and ale
 With money fylleth many a male 145
 And chaffren churches whan they fall
 And telleth the people a leude tale
 Suche false faytours foule hem fall²²

.13.

With chaunge of many maner²³ metesⁱ
 With songe and solace syttyng longe 150
 And fylleth her wombe/ and fast fretes
 And from the mete to the gonge
 And after mete with harpe and songe
 And eche man mote hem lordes call
 And hote spyces euer amonge 155
 Suche false faytours foule hem fall

.14.

And myters mo than one or two
 Iperled as the quenes hedde
 A staffe of golde/ and pyrrey lo
 As heuy as it were made of ledde 160

pascebant semetipsos! Nonne greges a pastoribus pascuntur? Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, in these words prophesy to them: Thus says the Lord God: Woe to the shepherds of Israel who have been pasturing themselves! Should not shepherds, rather, pasture sheep?

ⁱIn cithara e[t] lyra et tympanum et tibia et vinum in couiuiis vestris: et opus domini non respicis nec opera manuum eius consideratis. Isaia. v. Isaiah 5:11-12. Vae qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam, et potandum usque ad vesperam, ut vino aestuetis! Cithara, et lyra, et tympanum, et tibia et vinum in coviviis vestris; Et opus Dei non respicitis, nec opera manuum eius consideratis. Woe to those who demand strong drink as soon as they rise in the morning, and linger into the night while wine inflames them! With harp and lyre, timbrel and flute, they feast on wine; but what the Lord does, they regard not, the work of his hands they see not.

With clothe of golde both newe and redde
 With glytterande golde as grene as gall
 By dome woll dampne men to dedde
 All suche faytours foule hem fall

.15.

And Christes people proudly curse	165
with brode bokes/ and brayeng bell	
To putte pennys in her purse	
They woll sell bothe heuyn and hell ²⁴	
And in her sentence and thou wylt dwell	
They wyllen gesse in her gay hall	170
And though the sothe thou of hem tell	
In great cursyng shalte thou fall	

.16.

That is blessed/ that they blesse	
And cursed that they curse woll	
And thus the people they oppresse	175
And haue their lordshyppes at full	
And many be marchantes of wolle	
And to purse pennyes woll come thrall	
The poore people they all to pull	
Such false faytours foule hem fall	180

.17.

Lordes mote to hem loute ²⁵	
Obeysaunt to her brode blessing	
They ryden with her royall route	
On a courser/ as it were a kyng	
with saddyll of golde glytteryng	185
with curyous harneys quayntly crallyt	
Styroppes gaye of golde mastlyng	
All such falshed foule befall it	

.18.

Christes mynysters clepen they bene	
And rulen all in robbery	190
But Antichrist they seruen clene ²⁶	
Attyred all in tyranny	

Wytnesse of Ioh[n]es prophesy
 That Antichrist is her admyrall
 Tyffelers attyred in trechery
 All suche faytours foule hem fall 195

.19.

Who sayth that some of hem may synne^j
 He shalbe done to be deed
 Some of hem woll gladly wynne
 All ayenst that/ whiche god forbede²⁷ 200
 All holyest they clepen her heed
 That of her rule is regall
 Alas that euer they eten breed
 For all suche falshed woll foule fall

.20.

Her heed loueth all honour²⁸ 205
 And to be worshypped in worde and dede
 Kynges mote to hem knele and coure
 To the Apostels/ that Christ forbede²⁹
 To Popes hestes suche taketh more hede^k

^j*In uestimentis ouium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.* Matthew 7:15. Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt as vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces: a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Be on your guard against false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but underneath are wolves on the prowl. You will know them by their deeds.

^k*Extollens se super omne quod dicitur deus.* 2 Thess.:3-4. Ne quis vos seducat ullo modo: quoniam nisi venerit discessio primum, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati filius perditionis, qui adversatur, et extollitur super omne, quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit Deus. Let no one seduce you, no matter how. Since the mass apostasy has not yet occurred nor the man of lawlessness been revealed--that son of perdition and adversary who exalts himself above every so-called god proposed for worship, he who seats himself in God's temple and even declares himself to be God.

Than to kepe Christes com[m]aundement 210
 Of golde and syluer mote ben her wede
 They holdeth hym hole omnypotent

.21.

He ordayneth by his ordynaunce
 To parysshe preestes a powere
 To another a greater auaunce 215
 A greater poynt to his mystere
 But for he is hyghest in erthe here
 To hym reserueth he many a poynt
 But to Christ that hath no pere
 Reserueth he neyther opyn ne ioynt 220

.22.

So semeth he abouen all
 And Christ abouen hym nothyng
 Whan he sytteth in his stall
 Dampneth and saueth as hym thynke
 Suche pride tofore god dothe stynke 225
 An Angell bad Iohn to hym nat knele
 But onely to god do his bowyng³⁰
 Such wyllers of worship must nede yuel fele

.23.

They ne clepen Christ/ but s[an]ctus de[us]¹
 And clepen her heed/ Sanctissimus 230
 They that suche a sect sewys
 I trowe they taken hem amysse
 In erthe here they haue her blysse
 Her hye mayster is Bellyall
 Christes people from hem wysse 235

¹*Setsis deus s[an]ctus fortis.* Joshua 24:19. Dixitque Iosue ad populum: Non poteritis servire Domino: Deus enim sanctus et fortis aemulator est, nec ignoscet sceleribus vestris atque peccatis. Joshua in turn said to the people, "You may not be able to serve the Lord, for he is a holy God; he is a jealous God who will not forgive your transgressions or your sins."

For all such false wyll foule fall

.24.

They mowe both bynde and lose³¹

And all is for her holy lyfe

To saue or dampne they mowe chose^m

Betwene hem now is great stryfe³² 240

Many a man is kylled with a knyfe

To wete which of hem haue lordship shall

For suche Christ suffred wou[n]des fyue

For all suche falshed woll foule fall

.25.

Christ sayd: Qui gladio percutitⁿ 245

With swerde he shall dye³³

He bade his preestes peace and gryth

And bade hem nat drede³⁴ for to dye^o

And bade hem be bothe symple³⁵ and slye^p

^m*Omne regnu[m] in se deuisum desolabitur.* Matthew 12:25. Iesus autem sciens cogitationes eorum, dixit eis: Omne regnum divisum contra se desolabitur: et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se, non stabit. Knowing their thoughts, he said to them: "A kingdom torn by strife is headed for its downfall. A town or household split into factions cannot last for long."

ⁿ*Qui gladio percutit.* Matthew 26:52. Tunc ait illi Iesus: Converte gladium tuum in locum suum: omnes enim, qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt. Jesus said to him: "Put back your sword where it belongs. Thos who use the sword are sooner or later destroyed by it."

^o*Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.* Matthew 10:28. Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere; sed potius timete eum, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam. Do not fear those who deprive the body of life but cannot destroy the soul. Rather, fear him who can destroy both body and soul in Gehenna.

^p*Estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe.* Matthew 10:16. Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo

And carke not for no catall 250
 But trusteth on god that sytteth on hye
 For all false shull foule fall

.26.

These wollen make men to swere^a
 Ayenst Christes com[m]aundement
 And Christes membres all to tere 255
 On Roode/ as he wer newe yrent
 Suche lawes they maken by com[m]en assent
 Echone it choweth³⁶ as a ball
 Thus the poore be fully shent
 But euer falshed foule it fall 260

.27.

They vsen no Simony
 But sellen churches and priories
 Ne they vsyn no Enuy
 But cursen all hem contraries
 And hyereth men by dayes and yeres 265
 With strength to holde hem in her stall
 And culleth all her aduersaries
 Therfore falshed foule thou fall

.28.

With purse they purchase personage
 With purse they paynen hem to plede 270
 And men of warre they woll wage

prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae. What I am doing is sending you out like sheep among wolves. You must be clever as snakes and innocent as doves.

^a*Ue qui coducunt leges iniquas vt oprimant pauperes i[n] iudicio.*
 Isaiah 10:1-2. Vae qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribentes iniustitiam scripserunt, ut opprimerent in iudicio pauperes, et vim facerent causae humilium populi mei. Woe to those who enact unjust statutes and who write oppressive decrees, depriving the needy of judgment and robbing my people's poor of their rights.

To brynge her enemyes to the dede
And lordes lyues they woll lede
And moche take and gyue but small
But he it so gete/ from it shall shede 275
And make suche false right foule fall

.29.

They halowe nothyng but for hyre
Churche/ font/ ne uestement
And make orders in euery shyre
But preestes paye for the parchment 280
Of riatours they taken rent
Therwith they smere the shepes skall
For many churches ben ofte suspent
All suche falshed yet foule it fall

.30.

Some lyueth nat in lechery³⁷ 285
But haunten wenches/ wydowes/ & wyues
And punyssheth the poore for putry
Them selfe it vseth all her lyues
And but a man to them shriues
To heuyn come neuer he shall 290
He shalbe cursed as be caytyues
To hell they sayne that he shall fall

.31.

There was more mercy in Maximyen³⁸
And in Nero/ that neuer was good
Than is nowe in some of them 295
Whan he hath on his furred hoode
They folowe Christ that shedde his blode
To heuen/ as buckette in to the wall
Suche wrechis ben worse than wode
And all suche faytours foule hem fall 300

.32.

They gyue her almesse to the ryche³⁹
To maynteynours/ and to men of lawe
For to lordes they woll be lyche⁴⁰

An harlottes sonne nat worthe an hawe
 Sothfastnesse suche han slawe^r 305
 They kembe her crockettes with cristall⁴¹
 And drede of god they haue downe drawe
 All suche faytours foule hem fall

.33.

They maken parsons for the penny
 And canons of her cardynals 310
 Unnethes amongst hem all any
 That he ne hath glosed the gospell fals
 For Christ made neuer no cathedrals
 Ne with hym was no cardynall
 With a Redde hatte as vsyn mynstrals 315
 But falshed foule mote it befall

.34.

Their thythyng/ and her offryng both^s
 They clemeth it by possessyon⁴²
 Therof nyll they non forgo
 But robben men as raunsome 320
 The tithyng of Turpe lucrum⁴³
 With these maisters is meynall
 Tithyng of bribry/ and larson
 Wyll make falshed full foule to fall

.35.

They taken to ferme her sompnours 325

^r*Corruit in platea veritas Isaie. lix.* Isaiah 59:14. Et conversum est retrorsum iudicium, et iustitia longe stetit, quia corruit in platea veritas et aequitas non potuit ingredi. Right is repelled, and justice stands far off; for truth stumbles in the public square, uprightness cannot enter.

^s*Charitas no querit quae sua sunt.* 1 Corinthians 13:4-5. Charitas patiens est, benigna est. Charitas non aemulator, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quaerit quae sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum. Love is patient; love is kind. Love is not jealous, it does not put on airs, it is not snobbish.

To harme the people what they may
 To pardoners/ and false faytours
 Sell her seales I dare well say
 And all to holden great array
 To multiply hem more metall 330
 They drede full lytell domes day
 Whan all suche shall foule fall

.36.

Suche harlottes shull men dysclaunder^t
 For they shullen make her gree
 And ben as proude as Alexaunder 335
 And sayne to the poore/ wo be ye
 By yere eche preeste shall paye his fee
 To encrease hys lemmans call⁴⁴
 Suche heerdes shull well yuell the
 And all suche false shull foule fall 340

.37.

And if a man be falsely famed
 And wolde make purgacioun
 Than woll the offycers be agramed
 And assigne hym fro towne to towne
 So nede he must paye raunsome 345
 Though he be clene/ as is christall
 And than haue an absolutioun
 But all suche false shull foule fall

.38.

Though he be gyltie of the dede
 And that he maye money pay 350
 All the whyle his purse woll blede
 He maye vse it fro day to day

^t*'Ve homini illi per quem sca[n]dalum venit.* Matthew 18:7. Vae mundo a scandalis! Necesse est enim ut veniant scandala: verumtamen vae homini illi, per quem scandalum venit. What terrible things will come on the world through scandal! It is inevitable that scandal should occur. Nonetheless, woe to that man through whom scandal comes!

These byshoppes offycers gone full gay
 And this game they vsen ouer all
 The poore to pyll is all their pray 355
 All suche false shull foule fall

.39.

Alas/ god ordayned neuer suche lawe
 Ne no suche crafte of couetyse
 He forbade it by his sawe
 Suche governours mowen of god agryse 360
 For all his rules is rightwyse
 These newe poyntes ben pure papall
 And goddes lawe they dispyce
 And all suche faytours shull foule fall

.40.

They sayne that Peter had the key⁴⁵ 365
 Of hevyn and hell/ to haue and holde
 I trowe Peter toke no money
 For no synnes that he solde
 Suche successours ben to bolde
 In wynnyng all their witte thay wrall 370
 Her conscience is waxen colde
 And all suche faytours foule hem fall

.41.

Peter was neuer so great a fole
 To leave his key with suche a lorell
 Or to take suche cursed suche a tole 375
 He was aduysed nothyng well
 I trowe they haue the key of hell
 Their maister is of that place marshall
 For there they dresen hem to dwell
 And with false Lucifere there to fall 380

.42.

They ben as proud as Lucifarre
 As angry/ and as envyous
 From good faithe they ben full farre
 In couetyse they ben curyous

To catche cattell as couytous⁴⁶ 385
As hounde/ that for hungre woll yall
Ungoodly/ and vngratious
And nedely suche falshed shal foule fall

.43.

The pope and he were Peters heyre
He thynke he erreth in this case 390
Whan choyse of byshoppes is in dispeyre
To chosen hem in dyuers place
A lorde shall write to hym for grace
For his clerke anone pray he shall
So shall he spede hys purchase 395
And all suche false foule hem fall

.44.

Though he can no more good
A lordes prayer shalbe spedde
Though he be wylde of wyll or wood
Nat vnderstandyng what men han redde 400
A leude boster/ and that god forbode
As good a byshoppe is my horse ball
Suche a Pope is foule be stedde
And at last woll foule fall

.45.

He maketh byshoppes for erthly thanke 405
And nothyng for Christes sake
Suche that ben full fatte and ranke⁴⁷
To soule heale none hede they take
All is well done what euer they make
For they shal answeere at ones for all 410
For worldes thanke/ suche worch and wake
And all suche false shall foule fall

.46.

Suche that canne nat her Crede
With prayer shull be made prelates
Nouthur canne the gossell rede 415
Suche shull nowe welde hye estates

The hye goodes frendshyp hem makes
 They toteth on her som[m]e totall
 Suche bere the keyes of hell yates
 And all suche false shall foule fall 420

.47.

They forsake for Christes loue
 Traueyle/ hungre/ thirst/ and colde
 For they ben ordred euer all aboue
 Out of youthe tyll they ben olde
 By the dore they go/ nat in to the folde⁴⁸ 425
 To helpe their shepe they nought trauall
 Hyred men all suche I holde⁴⁹
 And all suche false foule hem fall

.48.

For Christ her kyng they woll forsake
 And knowe hym nought for his pouerte 430
 For Christes loue they woll wake
 And drynke pyement ale aparte
 Of god they seme nothyng a ferde
 As lusty lyueth/ as dyde Lamuall
 And dryuen her shepe in to deserte 435
 All suche faytours shull foule fall

.49.

Christ hath .xii. apostels here
 Nowe saye they/ there may be but one
 That may nat erre in no manere
 Who leueth nat this ben lost echone⁵⁰ 440
 Peter erred/ so dyde nat Iohn
 why is he cleped the principall?
 Christ cleped hym Peter/ but hym selfe th[e] stone⁵¹
 All false faytours foule hem fall

.50.

Why cursen they the croysery 445
 Christes christen creatures
 For bytwene hem is nowe enuy
 To be enhaunsed in honours

And christen lyuers with her labours
For they leuyn on no man mortall 450
But do to dethe with dishonours
And all suche false foule hem fall

.51.

What knoweth a tyllour at the plowe
The popes name and what he hate
Hys crede suffyseth to hym ynowe 455
And knoweth a cardynall by his hatte
Rough is the poore vnrightly latte
That knoweth Christ his god royall
Suche maters be nat worth a gnatte
But suche false faytours foule hem fall 460

.52.

A kyng shall knele and kysse his showe
Christ suffred a synfull to kysse his fete⁵²
Me thynketh he holdeth hym hye ynowe
So Lucifer dyd/ that hye sette
Such one me thynketh hym selfe foryete 465
Eyther to the trouth he was nat call
Christ that suffred woundes wete
Shall make suche falshed foule fall

.53.

They layeth out her large nettes
For to take syluer and golde 470
Fyllen coffers/ and sakes fettes
Ther as they soules catch sholde
Her seruauntes be to them vnholde
But they can doublyn theyr rentall
To bygge hem castels/ and bygge hem holde 475
And all suche false foule hem fall

*Here endeth the fyrst parte of this
boke/ and hereafter foloweth
the seconde parte*

[Part II]

.1.

To accorde with this worde fall^u
 No more Englysshe can I fynde
 Shewe another nowe I shall
 For I haue moche to saye behynde 480
 Howe preestes han the people pynde
 As curteys Christ hath me kende
 And putte this matter in my mynde
 To make this maner men amende

.2.

Shortly to shende hem/ and shewe now^v 485
 Howe wrongfully they worche and walke
 O hye god/ nothyng they tell/ ne howe
 But in goddes worde/ telleth many a balke
 In hernes holde hem and in halke
 And prechyn of tythes and offrende 490
 And vntruely of the gospell talke
 For his mercy god it amende

.3.

What is Antichrist to saye
 But euyn Christes aduersary
 Suche hath nowe ben many a day 495
 To Christes byddyng full contrary
 That from the trouthe clene uarry
 Out of the waye they ben wende
 And Christes people vntruely cary
 God for hys pytie it amende 500

^u*Qui non est mecum contra me est.* Matthew 12:30. Qui non est mecum, contra me est; et qui non congregat mecum, spargit. He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters.

^v*Qui non est &c.* Matthew 12:30. See Footnote 21.

.4.

That lyuen contrary to Christes lyfe
In hye pride agaynst mekenesse
Agaynst sufferaunce they vsen stryfe
And angre ayenst sobrenesse
Agaynst wysedome wylfulnesse 505
To Christes tales lytell tende
Agaynst measure outragiousnesse
But whan god woll it maye amende

.5.

Lordly lyfe ayenst lowlynesse
And demyn all without mercy 510
And couetyse ayenst largesse
Agaynst trewth trechery
And agaynst almesse enuy
Agaynst Christ they comprehend
For chastyte they maynteyne lechery 515
God for his grace this amende

.6.

Ayenst penaunce they vse delighetes
Ayenst suffraunce stronge defence
Ayenst god they vsen yuell rightes
Agaynste pytie punyshementes 520
Open yuell ayenst contynence
Her wicked wynnyng worse dispende
Sobrenesse they sette in to dispence
But god for his goodnesse it amende

.7.

Why cleymen they holy hys powere⁵³ 525
And wranglen ayenst all his hestes
Hys lyuyng folowen they nothyng here
But lyuen worse than wytlesse beestes
Of fysshe and flesshe they louen feestes
As lordes they ben brode ykende 530
Of goddes poore they haten gestes
God for his mercy thys amende

.8.

With Dyuers suche shall haue her dome
 That sayne that they be Christes frendes
 And do nothyng as they shulde done 535
 All suche ben falsen than ben fendes
 On the people they ley suche bendes
 As god is in erth they han offende
 Sucour for suche Christ nowe sende vs
 And for his mercy this amende 540

.9.

A token of Antichrist they be
 His careckes ben nowe wyde yknowe
 Receyued to preche shall no man be
 Without token of hym I trowe
 Eche christen preest/ to prechyn owe 545
 From god aboue they ben sende.
 Goddes worde/ to all folke for to showe
 Synfull man for to amende

.10.

Christ sente the poore for to preche
 The royall riche he dyd nat so 550
 Nowe dare no poore the people teche
 For Antichrist⁵⁴ is ouer all her foe
 Amonge the people he mote go
 He hath bydden/ all suche suspende
 Some hath he hente/ & thynketh yet mo 555
 But all this god may well amende

.11.

All tho that han the worlde forsake
 And lyuen loly/ as god badde
 In to her prison shullen be take
 Betyen and bounden/ and forthe ladde 560
 Herof I rede no man be dradde
 Christ sayd/ his shulde be shende
 Eche man ought herof be gladde
 For god full well it woll amende

.12.

They take on hem royall powere ^w	565
And saye they haue swerdes two ⁵⁵	
One curse to hell/ one slee men here	
For at his takyng Christ had no mo	
Yet Peter had one of tho	
But Christ/ to Peter smyte gan defende ⁵⁶	570
And in to the sheth badde putte it tho	
And all suche myscheues god amende	

.13.

Christ badde Peter⁵⁷ kepe his shepe^x

^w*Ecce gladii duo hic.* Luke 22:38. At illi dixerunt: Domine, ecce duo gladii hic. At ille dixit eis: Satis est. They said, "Lord, here are two swords!" He answered, "Enough."

^x[A] *Uos qui spirituales estis instruite alios in sp[irit]u lenitatis.* Galatians 6:1. Fratres, et si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos, qui spirituales estis, huiusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis,

And with his swerde forbade hym smyte⁵⁸
 Swerde is no tole with shepe to kepe 575
 But to sheperdes that shepe woll byte
 Me thynketh suche sheperdes ben to wyte
 Ayen her shepe with swerde that contende
 They driue her shepe with great dispyte
 But all this god may well amende⁵⁹ 580

.14.

So successours to Peter be they nought
 Whom Christ made chefe pastoure
 A swerde no sheperde vsen ought
 But he wolde slee/ as a bochour
 For who so were Peters successour 585
 Shulde bere his shepe tyll hys backe bende
 And shadowe hem from euery shoure
 And all this god may well amende

considerans teipsum, ne et tu tenteris. My brothers, if someone is detected in sin, you who live by the spirit should gently set him right, each of you trying to avoid falling into temptation himself.

[B] *Suscitabo pastore stultum q disp[ers]a no coliget. Sed oues pi[n]gues comedet, et habebit gladiu in brachio dextro & gladiu in oculo sinistro.*
 Zacharias 11:15-17. Et dixit Dominus ad me: Adhuc sume tibi vasa pastoris stulti. Quia ecce ego suscitabo pastotem in terra, qui derelicta non visitabit, dispersum non quaeret et contritum non sanabit, et id quod stat non enutriet, et carnes pinguium comedet, et ungulas eorum dissolvat. O pastor, et idolum derelinquens gregem: gladium dextrum eius, et super oculum dextrum eius; brachium eius ariditate siccabitur, et oculus dexter eius tenebrescens obscurabitur. The Lord said to me: This time take the gear of a foolish shepherd. For I will raise up a shepherd in the land who will take no notice of those that perish, nor seek the strays, nor heal the injured, nor feed what survives--he will eat the flesh of the fat ones and tear off their hoofs! Woe to my foolish shepherd who forsakes he flock! May the sword fall upon his arm and upon his right eye; Let his arm wither away entirely, and his right eye be blind forever!

.15.

Successours to Peter ben these'
 In that that Peter Christ forsoke 590
 That had leuer the loue of god lese
 Than a sheperde had to lese his hoke
 He culleth the shepe as dothe the coke
 Of hem taken the woll vntrende
 And falsely glose the gossell boke 595
 God for his mercy them amende

.16.

After Christ had take Peter the kay^z
 Christ sayd/ he muste dye for man
 That Peter to Christ gan withsay
 Christ badde hym go behynde Sathan⁶⁰ 600
 Such cou[n]saylours many of these men han

⁹*Lac comedebatis & lanis operiebamini & quod pingue erat occidistis.* Ezekiel 34:3. Lac comedebatis, et lanis operiebamini, et quod crassum erat occidebatis, gregem autem meum non pascebatis. You have fed off their milk, worn their wool, and slaughtered the fatlings, but the sheep you have not pastured.

^z*Tunc dixit Iesus discipulis suis q[ui]a[ui]a oporteret eum ire ierosolimam & multa pati.* Rs[pon]dit petr[us] Nequaquam erit tibi hoc. Iesus dixit petro: Uade post me Sathanas. Matthew 16:21-23. Exinde coepit Iesus ostendere discipulis suis, quia oporteret eum ire Ierosolymam, et multa pati a senioribus, et scribis, et principibus sacerdotum, et occidi, et tertia die resurgere. Et assumens eum Petrus, coepit increpare illum dicens: Absit a te, Domine: non erit tibi hoc. Qui conversus, dixit Petro: Vade post me, Satana, scandalum est mihi: quia non sapis ea quae Dei sunt, sed ea quae hominum. From then on Jesus [the Messiah] started to indicate to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer greatly there at the hands of the elders, the chief priests, and the scribes, and be put to death, and be raised up on the third day. At this, Peter took him aside and began to remonstrate with him. "May you be spared, Master! God forbid that any such thing ever happen to you!" Jesus turned on Peter and said, "Get out of my sight, you satan!" You are trying to make me trip and fall. You are not judging by God's standards but by man's.

For worldes wele/ god to offende
 Peters successours they ben for than
 But all suche god may well amende

.17.

For Sathan is to say no more	605
But he that contrary to Christ is	
In this they lerne Peters lore	
They sewen hym whan he dyd mysse	
They folowe Peter forsothe in this	
In all that Christ wolde Peter reprehende	610
But nat in that that longeth to hevyn blysse	
God for hys mercy hem amende	

.18.

Some of the Apostels they sewen in case ^{aa}	
Of ought that I can vnderstonde	
Hym that betrayed Christ/ Iudas ⁶¹	615
That bare the purse in euery londe	
And al that he myght sette on honde	
He hydde and stale/ and myspende	
His rule these traytours han in honde	
Almighty god hem amende	620

^{aa}*Fur erat/ q loculos habebat et ea que mitte[b]antur portabat.* John 12:4-6. [Judas Iscariot protests the price of the ointment with which Mary anointed Christ's feet.] Dixit ergo unus ex discipulis eius, Iudas Iscariotes, qui erat eum traditurus: Quaere hoc unguentum non vaenit trecentis denariis, et autem hoc non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum, sed quia fur erat, et loculos habens, ea quae mittebantur portabat. Judas Iscariot, one of his disciples, (the one about to hand him over), protested: "Why was not this perfume sold? It could have brought three hundred silver pieces, and the money have been given to the poor." (He did not say this out of concern for the poor, but because he was a thief. He held the purse, and used to help himself to what was deposited there.)

.19.

And at last his lorde gan tray^{bb}
 Cursedly through hys false couetyse
 So wolde these/ trayen hym for money
 And they wysten in what wyse
 They be seker of the selfe ensyse 625
 From all sothnesse they ben frende
 And couetyse chaungen with queyntyse
 Almighty god all suche amende

.20.

Were Christ on erthe here efte sone⁶²
 These wolde dampne hym to dye 630
 All his hestes they han fordone
 And sayne his sawes ben heresy
 And ayenst his commaundementes they crye⁶³
 And dampne all his to be brende
 For it lyketh nat hem suche losengery 635
 God almighty hem amende

.21.

These han more myght in Englande here
 Than hath the kynge and all hys lawe
 They han purchased hem such powere
 To taken hem whom lyst nat knawe 640
 And say that heresy is her sawe
 And so to prysone woll hem sende
 It was nat so by elder dawe
 God for his mercy it amende

.22.

The kynges lawe woll no man deme^{cc} 645

^{bb}*ut dolo caperent et occiderent.* Matthew 26:4. [The high priests and elders] et consilium fecerunt ut Iesum dolo tenerunt, et occiderent.

^{cc}*Lex neminem iudicat Nisi prius audierit ab eo qui dixit.* The law judges no one unless he has previously heard [the charges against] him. [Not Biblical, but a saying from English law. Contrast this with

Angerlyche withouten answeere
 But yf any man these mysqueme
 He shalbe beted as a bere
 And yet wel worse they woll hym tere
 And in prysone woll hem pende 650
 In gyues/ and in other gere
 Whan God woll/ it maye mende

.23.

The kyng taxeth nat his men
 But by assente of the com[m]ynalte
 But these eche yere woll raunsom hem 655
 Maisterfully/ more than doth he
 Her seales by yere better be
 Than is the kynges in extende
 Her offycers han gretter fee
 But this myschefe god amende 660

.24.

For who so woll proue a testament
 That is nat all worthe tenne pounde
 He shall paye for the parchement
 The thirde parte of the money all rounde
 Thus the people is raunsounde 665
 They saye suche parte to hem shulde apende
 There as they grypen it gothe to grounde
 God for his mercy it amende

.25.

A symple fornicacioun
 Twenty shylllynges he shall paye 670
 And than haue an absolution
 And all the yere vsen it forthe he maye
 Thus they letten hem go a stray

Ignorantia non excusat, Ignorance of the law does not excuse, from the Canon Law. See entry in John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Glossary of Legal Diction* (D.S. Brewer, Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wolfenboro, New Hampshire, 1988).

They recke nat though the soule be brende
 These kepyn yuell Peters key 675
 And all suche sheperdes god amende

.26.

Wonder is/ that the parlyament^{dd}
 And all the lordes of this londe
 Herto taken to lytell entent
 To helpe the people out of her honde 680
 For they ben harder in their bonde
 Worse beate/ and bytter brende
 Than to the kyng is vnderstande
 God hym helpe this to amende

.27.

What byshoppes/ what relygions^{ee} 685
 Han in thys lande as moche laye fee
 Lordshippes/ and possessyons
 More than the lordes/ it semeth me
 That maketh hem lese charyte

^{dd}*Cum filii idolij poluerunt domini sacrificium.* &. Ezekiel 23:38-39.
 Sed et hoc fecerunt mihi: Polluerunt sanctuarium meum in die illa, et sabbata mea profanaverunt. Cumque immolaverent filios suos idolis suis, et ingrederentur sanctuarium meum in die illa ut polluerent illud, etiam haec fecerunt in medio domus meae. This, too, they did to me: they defiled my sanctuary and desecrated my sabbaths. On the very day they slew their children for their idols, they entered my sanctuary to desecrate it. Thus they acted within my house.

^{ee}*Paul in inimicos crucis [Christi] quorum finis interitus qui terrena sapiunt.* &. Philippians 3:18-19. Multi enim ambulant, quos saepe dicebam vobis (nunc autem et flens dico) inimicos crucis Christi: quorum finis interitus: quorum Deus venter est: et gloria in confusione ipsorum, qui terrena sapiunt. Unfortunately, many go about in a way which shows them to be enemies of the cross of Christ. I have often said this to you before; this time I say it with tears. Such as these will end in disaster! Their god is their belly and their glory is in their shame. I am talking about those who are upon the things of this world.

They mowe nat to god attende 690
 In erthe they haue so hyghe degree
 God for his mercy it amende

.28.

The Emperour yaf the Pope sometyme^{ff}
 So hyghe lordshyppe hym aboute
 That at laste the sely kyme 695
 The proude Pope putte hym out
 So of thys realme is in doute
 But lordes be ware and them defende
 For nowe these folk[] be wonder stoute⁶⁴
 The kynge and lordes nowe thys amende⁶⁵ 700

*Thus endeth the seconde parte of
 this boke/ and hereafter folo-
 weth the thirde*

^{ff}*Reges gentium dominantur eorum.* Luke 22:25-26. See Footnote 6a.

[Part III]

.1.

Moyse's lawe⁶⁶ forbode it tho^{gg}
 That preestes shuld no lordshippes welde
 Christes gospels byddeth also
 That they shulde no lordshippe helde
 Ne Christes Apostels were neuer so bolde⁶⁷
 No suche lordshippes to them enbrace
 But smeren her shepe and kepe her folde
 God amende hem for his grace

705

^{gg}*Ad habebat hereditate[m] sacerdotes et leuite inter fratres eoru[m]*
ego autem pars e hereditas eorum. &c. Ezekiel 44:10-11, 15, 28. (10)
Sed et levitae qui longe recesserunt a me in errore filiorum Israel, et
erraverunt a me post idola sua, et portaverunt iniquitatem suam, (11)
erunt in sanctuario meo aeditui, et ianitores portarum domus, et ministri
domus... (15) Sacerdotes autem et levitae, filii Sadoc, qui custodierunt
caeremonias sanctuarii mei, cum errarent filii Israel a me, ipsi accedent
ad me ut ministrent mihi, et custodiant caeremonias meas... (28) Non
erit autem eis haereditas, ego haereditas eorum et possessionem non
dabitis eis in Israel, ego enim possessio eorum.

(10) But as for the Levites who departed from me when Israel strayed from me to pursue their idols, they shall bear the consequences of their sin. (11) They shall serve in my sanctuary as gatekeepers and temple servants... (15) As for the levitical priests, however, the Zadokites who cared for my sanctuary when the Israelites strayed from me, they shall draw near to me to minister to me... (28) They shall have no inheritance, for I am their inheritance; you shall give them no property in Israel, for I am their property.

.2.

For they ne ben⁶⁸ but countrefete^{hh}
 Men may knowe hem by her fruite⁶⁹ 710
 Her gretnesse maketh hem god foryete
 And take his mekenesse in dispyte
 And they were poore and had but lyte
 They nolde nat demen after the face⁷⁰
 But norisshe her shepe/ and hem nat byte 715
 God amende hem for his grace

.3.

Gryffon.

What canst thou preche ayenst chanons
 That men clepen seculere?

Pelycan

They ben curates of many towns
 On erthe they haue great powere 720
 They han great prebendes and dere
 Some two or thre/ and some mo
 A personage to ben a playeng fere
 And yet they serue the kynge also

.4.

And lette to ferme all that fare 725
 To whom that woll most gyue therefore
 Some woll spende/ and some woll spare

^{hh} [A] *Nec quisquis eorum q possidebat aliis quid suu[m] esse dicebat.* Acts 4:32. Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum, et anima una: nec quisquam eorum quae possidebat, aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant illis omnia communia. The community of believers were of one heart and one mind. None of them ever claimed anything as his own; rather everything was held in common.

[B] *Ex fructibus eor[um] cognosce tis eos,* &. Matthew 7:15. See Footnote 10.

[C] *Homo cum i[n] honore esset non intellegit.* Psalm 48(49):13. Et homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit. Comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis. Thus man, for all his splendor, does not abide; he resembles the beasts that perish.

And some woll laye it vp in store
A cure of soule they care nat fore
So they mowe money take 730
Whether her soules be wonne or lore
Her profytes they woll nat forsake

.5.

They haue a gederyng procuratour
That can the poore people enplede⁷¹
And robben hem as a rauynour 735
And to his lorde the money lede
And catche of quicke and eke of dede
And richen hym and his lorde eke
And to robbe the poore can gyue good rede
Of olde and yonge/ of hole and syke 740

.6.

Therwith they purchase hem lay fee
In londe/ there hem lyketh best
And buylde also brode as a cyte
Bothe in the Est/ and eke in the west
To purchase thus they ben full prest 745
But on the poore they woll nought spende
Ne no good gyue to goddes gest
Ne sende hym some that all hath sende

.7.

By her seruyce suche woll lyue
And trusse that other in to treasour 750
Though all her parysshe dye vnshriue
They woll nat gyue a rose floure
Her lyfe shulde be as a myrour
Bothe to lered and to leude also
And teche the people her lele labour 755
Suche myster men ben all mysgo⁷²

.8.

Some of hem ben harde nygges
And some of hem ben proude and gay
Some spende her good vpon gygges

And fynden hem of great aray 760
 Alas/ what thynke these men to say
 That thus dispenden goddis good
 In the dredefull domes daye
 Suche wretches shulde worse than wood

.9.

Some her churches neuer ne sye 765
 Ne neuer o peny thyder ne sende
 Though the poore parysshens for hungre dye
 O peny on hem wyll they nat spende
 Haue they receyuyng of the rente
 They recke neuer of the remena[n]t 770
 Alas the deuyll hath clene hem blent
 Suche one is Sathanas soiournant

.10.

And vsen horedome and harlotry
 Couetyse/ pompe/ and pride
 Slouth/ wrathe/ and eke enuy 775
 And sewen synne by euery syde
 Alas/ where thynke suche tabyde
 Howe woll they accomptes yelde
 From hye god they mowe hem nat hyde
 Suche wyllers witte is nat worth a nelde 780

.11.

They ben so roted in riches⁷³
 That Christes pouert⁷⁴ is foryet
 Serued with so many messe
 Hem thinketh that Manna is no mete
 All is good that they mowe gete 785
 They wene to lyue euermore
 But whan god at dome is sette
 Suche treasour is a feble store

.12.

Unneth mote they matyns saye
 For countyng and for court holdyng 790
 And yet he iangleth as a iaye

And vnderstont hym selfe nothyng
He woll serue bothe erle and kyng
For his fyndyng and his fee
And hyde his thythyng and his offryng
This is a feble charite 795

.13.

Outher they be proude/ or coueytous⁷⁵
Or they ben harde/ or hungry
Or they ben lyberall or lecherous
Or els medlers with marchandry 800
Or maynteyners of men with maistry
Or stewardes/ countours/ or pledours
And serue god in hypocrisy
Suche preestes ben Christes false traytours

.14.

They ben false/ they ben uengeable 805
And begylen men in Christes name
They ben vnstedfast and vnstable
To tray her lorde/ hem thynketh no shame
To serue god they ben full lame
Goddess theues/ and falsly stele 810
And falsely goddes worde defame
In wynnyng is her worldes wele

.15.

Antichrist these seruen all
I pray the who may say nay?
With Antichrist suche shall fall 815
They folowen hym in dede and say
They seruyn hym in rich array
To serue Christ suche falsely fayne
Why/ at the dredefull domes day
Shull they nat folowe hym to payne? 820

.16.

That knowen hem selfe that they done yll
Ayenst Christes co[m]maundement
And amende hem neuer ne wyll

But serue Sathan by one assent
 Who sayth sothe he shalbe shent 825
 Or speketh ayenst her false lyuyng
 Who so well lyueth shalbe brent
 For suche ben gretter than the kyng

.17.

Pope/ byshoppes/ and cardynals
 Chanons/ persons/ and uycayre 830
 In goddes seruyce I trowe ben false
 That sacraments sellen here
 And ben as proude as Lucifere
 Eche man loke whether that I lye
 Who so speketh ayenst her powere⁷⁶ 835
 It shall be holden heresy

.18.

Loke howe many orders take
 Onely of Christ/ for his seruyce
 That the worldes goodes forsake
 Who so taketh orders/ or other wyse 840
 I trowe that they shall sore agryse
 For all the glose that they conne
 All sewen nat this assyse
 In yuell tyme they thus begonne

.19.

Loke howe many amonge hem all 845
 Holden nat this hye way
 With Antichrist they shullen fall
 For they wolden god betray
 God amende hem that best may
 For many men they maken shende 850
 They weten well the sothe I say⁷⁷
 But the dyuell hath foule hem blende

.20.

Some on her churches dwell
 Appayrelled poorely/ proude of porte
 The seuyn sacramentes they done sell 855

In cattell catchyng is her comforte
Of eche matter they wollen mell
And done hem wronge is her disporte
To affray the people they ben fel
And holde hem lower than dothe the lorde 860

.21.

For the tithynge of a duke
Or of an apple/ or an aye
They make men swere vpon a boke
Thus they foulyn Christes say
Suche beren yuell heuyn kay 865
They mowen assoyle/ they mowe shriue
With mennes wyues strongly play
With trewe tyllers sturte and stryue

.22.

At the wrestlyng/ and at the wake
And chefe chauntours at the nale 870
Markette beters/ and medlyng make
Hoppen and houten with heue and hale
At fayre fresshe/ and at wyne stale
Dyne and drinke/ and make debate
The seuyn sacramentes sette at sayle 875
Howe kepe suche they keyes of heuyn gate?

.23.

Mennes wyues they wollen holde⁷⁸
And though that they ben ryght sory
To speke they shull nat be so bolde
For sompnyng to the consistory 880
And make hem saye mouthe I lye
Though they it sawe with her eye
His lemman holden openly
No man so hardy to axe why

.24.

He woll haue tythyng & offrynge 885
Mauger whoso euer it gruche
And twyse on the day he woll synge

Goddes prestes nere none suche
 He mote on huntyng with dogge and bytche
 And blowen his horne/ and cryen hey 890
 And sorcery vsen as a wytche
 Suche kepyn yuell Peters key

.25.

Yet they mote haue some stocke or stone⁷⁹
 Gayly paynted/ and proudly dight
 To maken men leuyn vpon 895
 And say that it is full of might
 About suche/ men sette vp great lyght
 Other suche stockes shull stonde thereby
 As darke as it were midnight
 For it may make no maistry 900

.26.

That it leude people se mowe
 Thou Mary/ thou worchest wonder thinges
 About that/ that men offryn to nowe
 Hongen broches/ ouches/ and rynges
 The prest purchaseth the offrynges⁸⁰ 905
 But he nyll offre to none ymage
 Wo is the soule that he for synges
 That precheth for suche a pylgrimage

.27.

To men and women that ben poore
 That ben Christes owne lykenesse 910
 Men shulden offre at her dore
 That suffryn hungre and dystresse
 And to suche ymages offre lesse
 That mowe nat fele thirst ne colde
 The poore in spyrite gan Christ blesse⁸¹ 915
 Therefore offreth to feble and olde

.28.

Buckelers brode/ and swerdes long
 Baudrike/ with baselardes kene
 Suche toles about her necke they hange

With Antichrist suche preestes bene 920
Vpon her dedes it is well sene
Whom they seruen/ whom they honoren
Antichristes they ben clene
And goddis goodes falsely deuouren

.29.

Of scarlet and grene gay gownes 925
That mote be shape for the newe
To clyppen and kyssen cou[n]ten in townes
The damosels that to the dauuce sewe
Cuttet clothes to sewe her hewe
With longe pykes on her shone 930
Our goddes gospell is nat trewe
Eyther they seruen the dyuell or none

.30.

Nowe ben preestes pokes so wyde
That men must enlarge the uestement⁸²
The holy gospell they done hyde 935
For they contraryen in rayment
Suche preestes of Lucifere ben sent
Lyke conquerours they ben arayde
The proude pendauntes at her ars ypent
Falsely the truthe they han betrayde 940

.31.

Shrifte syluer suche wollen aske is
And woll men crepe to the crouche
None of the sacramentes saue askes
Without mede shall no man touche
On her byshoppe their warant uouch 945
That is lawe of the decre
With mede and money thus they mouche
And thus they sayne is charyte

.32.

In the myddes of her masse
They nyll haue no man but for hyre 950
And full shortely lette forth passe

Suche shull men fynde in eche shyre
 That personages for profyte desyre
 To lyue in lykyng and in lustes
 I dare nat sayne/ *Sans ose ieo dire* 955
 That suche ben Antichristes preestes

.33.

Or they yef the byshoppes why
 Or they mote ben in his seruyce
 And holden forthe her harlotry
 Suche prelates ben of feble emprise 960
 Of goddis grame suche men agryse
 For suche matters that taken mede
 Howe they excuse hem/ and in what wyse
 Me thynketh they ought greatly drede

.34.

They sayne/ that it to no man longeth 965
 To reprove them though they erre
 But falsely goddis goodesse they fongeth
 And therwith maynteyne wo and werre
 Her dedes shulde be as bright as sterre
 Her lyuyng/ leude mannes lyght 970
 They say the pope may nat erre
 Nede must that passe mannes might

.35.

Though a prest lye w[ith] his lem[m]an all night
 And tellen his felowe/ and he hym
 He goth to masse anone right 975
 And sayth he syngeth out of synne
 His byrde abideth hym at his inne
 And dighteth his dyner the meane whyle
 He syngeth his masse for he wolde wynne
 And so he weneth god begyle 980

.36.

Hem that thynketh long tyll they be mette
 And that they vsen forthe all the yere
 Amonge the folke whan he is sette

He holdeth no man halfe his pere
Of the byshoppe he hath powere 985
To soyle men/ or els they ben lore
His absolutyon may make them skere
And wo is the soule that he syngeth fore

.37.

Gryffon.

The Gryffon began for to threte
And sayd/ of monkes canst thou ought 990

Pelycan.

The Pellycane sayd/ they ben full grete
And in this worlde moche wo hath wrought
Saynt Benet/ that her order brought
Ne made hem neuer on suche manere
I trowe it came neuer in this thought 995
That they shulde vse so great powere

.38.

That a man shuld a monke lorde call
Ne serue on knees/ as a kyng
He is as proude as prince in pall
In mete/ and drynke/ and all thyng 1000
Some wearyn myter and ryng
With double worsted well ydight⁸³
With royall mete and riche drinke
And rideth on a courser as a knyght

.39.

With hauke and with houndes eke 1005
With broches or ouches on his hode
Some saye no masse in all a weke
Of deynties is her most fode
With lordshippes and with bondmen
This is a royall relygyoun 1010
Saynt Benet made ueuer none of hem
To haue lordshippe of man ne towne

.40.

Nowe they ben qneynte and curious
 With fyne clothe cladde and serued clene
 Proude angry/ and enuyous 1015
 Malyce is mouche that they meane
 In catchyng crafty and couetous
 Lordly lyuen in great lykyng
 This lynyng is nat relygyous
 Accordyng to Benette in his lyuyng 1020

.41.

They ben clerkes/ her courtes they ouer se
 Her poore tenaunce fully they flyte
 The hyre that a man amerced be
 The gladlyer they woll it write
 This is ferre from Christes pouerte 1025
 For all with couetyse they endyte
 On the poore they haue no pyte
 Ne neuer hem cherysshe but euer hem byte

.42.

And com[m]enly suche ben comen
 Of poore people/ and of hem begete 1030
 That this perfection han ynomen
 Her fathers ryden nat but on her fete
 And traуaylen sore for that they ete
 In pouert lyueth yonge and olde
 Her fathers suffreth drought and wete 1035
 Many hungry meles/ thurst/ and colde

.43.

And all this the monkes han forsake
 For Christes loue and saynt Benette
 To pride and ease haue them take
 This relygion is yuell be sette 1040
 Had they ben out of relygioun
 They must haue honged at the plowe⁸⁴
 Thresshyng & dykyng fro towne to towne⁸⁵
 With sory mete/ and nat halfe ynowe

.44.

Therfore they han this all forsake 1045
And taken to riches/ pride/ and ease
Full fewe for god woll monkes hem make
Lytell is suche order for to prayse
Saynt Benet ordayned it nat so
But badde hem be cherelyche 1050
In churlyche maner lyue and go
Boystous in erthe/ and nat lordlych

.45.

They disclaunder saynt Benette
Therfore they haue his holy curse
Saynt Benet with hem neuer mette 1055
But if they thought to robbe his purse
I canne no more hereof tell
But they ben lyke tho before
And clene serue the dyuell of hell
And ben his treasour and his store 1060

.46.

And all suche other counterfeytours
Chanons/ canons/ and suche disgysed
Ben goddes enemyes and traytours
His trewe relygioun han foule dispysed
Of Freres⁸⁶ I haue tolde before 1065
In a makynge of a Crede
And yet I coude tell worse and more
But men wolde weryen it to rede

.47.

As goddes goodnesse no man tell might
Write ne speke/ ne thyne in thought 1070
So her falshed/ and her vnright
May no man tell that euer god wrought
Gryffon.
The Gryffon sayd/ thou canst no good
Thou came neuer of no gentyll kynde
Outher I trowe thou wexest wood 1075
Or els thou hast loste thy mynde

.48.

Sulde holy churches haue no heed?
 Who shulde be her gouernayle
 Who shulde her rule/ who shulde her reed
 Who shulde her forthren/ who shulde auayle 1080
 Eche man shall lyue by his trauayle
 Who best doth/ shall haue most mede
 With strength if men the churche assayle
 With strength men must defende her nede

.49.

And the pope were purely poore 1085
 Nedy/ and nothyng ne hadde
 He shulde be driuen from dore to dore
 The wicked of hym nolde nat be dradde
 Of suche an heed men wolde be sadde
 And synfully lyuen as hem lust 1090
 With strength/ ame[n]des suche be made
 With wepen wolues from shepe be wust

.50.

If the pope and prelates wolde
 So begge/ & bydde/ bowe and borowe
 Holy churche shulde stande full colde 1095
 Her seruauntes sytte and soupe sorowe
 And they were noughty foule and horowe
 To worshyppe god men wolde wlate
 Bothe on euyn and on morowe
 Suche harlotry men wolde hate 1100

.51.

Therefore men of holy churche
 Shulde ben honest in all thyng
 Worshypfully goddes workes werche
 So semeth it to serue Christ her kyng
 In honest and in clene clothyng 1105
 With uestels of golde and clothes ryche
 To god honestly to make offryng
 To his lordshyppe none is lyche

.52.

Pellycan

The Pellycan cast on houe crye
And sayd alas/ why sayest thou so 1110
Christ is our heed that sytteth on hye
Heddes ne ought we haue no mo
We ben his membres bothe also
And father⁸⁷ he taught vs to call hym als
Maisters to be called defended he tho 1115
All other maisters ben wicked and fals

.53.

That taketh maistry in his name
Goostly/ and for erthly good
Kynges and lordes shulde lordshyp hane
And rule the people with mylde mode 1120
Christ for vs that shedde his blode
Badde his preestes no maystershypp haue
Ne carke nat for clothe ne fode
From euery myschefe he wyll hem saue

.54.

Her riche clothyng shalbe ryghtwytnesse 1125
Her treasour/ trewe lyfe shalbe
Charite shalbe her rychesse
Her lordshippe shalbe vnyte
Hope in god/ her honeste
Her uessell clene conscience 1130
Poore in spyrite/ and humylyte
Shalbe holy churches defence

.55.

Gryffon.

What sayd the Gryffon may the greue
That other folkes faren wele
What haste thou to done with her lyue 1135
Thy falshed eche man may fele
For thou canst no catell gete
But lyuest in londe as a lorell⁸⁸

With glosyng gettest thou thy mete
 So fareth the deuyl that wonneth in hell 1140

.56.

He wolde that eche man there shulde dwell
 For he lyueth in clene enuye
 So with the tales that thou dost tell
 Thou woldest other people distry
 With your glose/ and your heresy 1145
 For ye can lyue no better lyfe
 But clene in hypocrisy
 And bringeth the in wo and stryfe

.57.

And therwith haue nat to done
 For ye ne haue here no cure 1150
 Ye serue the dyuell/ neither god ne man
 And he shall paye you your hyre
 For ye woll fare well at feestes
 And warme clothed for the colde
 Therfore ye glose goddis hestes 1155
 And begyle the people yonge and olde

.58.

And all the seuyn sacramentes
 Ye speke ayenst/ as ye were slye
 Ayenst tithiges/ offrynges/ with your ente[n]tes 1160
 And on our lordes body falsely lye
 And all this ye don[n]e to lyue in ease
 As who sayth/ there ben none suche
 And sayne the pope is nat worth a pease
 To make the people ayen hym gruche

.59.

And this com[m]eth in by fendes 1165
 To bryng the chrysten in distaunce
 For they wolde that no man were frendes
 Leaue they chatteryng with myschaunce
 If thou lyue well/ what wylte thou more
 Lette other men lyue as hem lyst 1170

Spende in good/ or kepe in store
Other mennes conscience neuer thou nyst

.60.

Ye han no cure to answeere fore
What meddell ye/ that han nat to done
Lette men lyue as they han done yore 1175
For thou shalte answeere for no man
Pellycan.

The Pellycan sayd/ Syr/ nay
I dispysed nat the pope
Ne no sacramente/ sothe to say
But speke in charite and good hope 1180

.61.

But I dispyse her hye pride
Her richesse/ that shulde be poore in spirite
Her wickednesse is knowe so wyde
They serue god in false habyte
And turnyn mekenesse in to pride 1185
And lowelynesse in to hye degre
And goddis wordes turne and hyde
And that am I moued by charite

.62.

To lette men to lyue so
With all my connyng and all my myght 1190
And to warne men of her wo
And to tell hem trouthe and ryght
The sacramentes be soule hele
If they ben vsed in good vse
Ayenst that speke I neuer a dele 1195
For than were I nothyng wyse

.63.

But they that vsen hem in mysse manere
Or sette hem vp to any sale
I trowe they shall abyde hem dere
This is my reason/ this is my tale 1200
Who so taketh hem vnrightfullyche

Ayenst the tenne com[m]aundyments
 Or by glose wreched lyche
 Selleth any of the sacramentes

.64.

I trowe they do the deuyll homage	1205
In that they wetyn they do wronge	
And therto I dare well wage	
They seruyn Sathan for all her songe	
To tithen and offren is holsome lyfe	
So it be done in dewe manere	1210
A man to houselyn and to shryue	
Weddyng/ and all the other in fere	

.65.

So it be nother solde ne bought	
Ne take ne gyue for couetyse	
And it be so taken it is nought	1215
Who selleth hem so/ maye sore agryse	
On our lordes body I do nat lye	
I say sothe thorowe trewe rede	
His fleshe and blode through his mastry	
Is there/ in the forme of brede	1220

.66.

Howe it is there/ it nedeth nat stryue	
Whether it be subgette or accydent	
But as Christ was/ when he was on lyue ⁸⁹	
So is he there uerament	
If pope or cardynall lyue good lyue	1225
As Christ commaunded in his gospell	
Ayenst that woll I nat stryue	
But me thynketh they lyue nat well	

.67.

For if the pope lyued as god bede	
Pride and hyghnesse he shulde dispyse	1230
Rychesse/ couetyse/ and crowne on hede	
Mekenesse and pouerte he shulde vse ⁹⁰	

Gryffon.

The Gryffon sayd he shulde abyge
Thou shalbe brent in balefull fyre
All they secte I shall distrye⁹¹ 1235
Ye shalbe hanged by the swyre

.68.

Ye shullen be honged and to drawe
Who gyueth you leaue for to preche⁹²
Or speke ayenst goddes lawe
And the people thus falsely teche 1240
Thou shalt be cursed with boke and bell
And disseuered from holy churche
And clene ydampned in to hell
Otherwise but ye woll worche

.69.

Pellycan.

The Pellycan sayd that I ne drede 1245
Your cursyng is of lytell value
Of god I hope to haue my mede
For it is falshede that ye shewe
For ye ben out of charite
And wylneþ uengeaunce/ as dyd Nero 1250
To suffryn I woll redy be
I drede nat that thou canst do

.70.

Christ badde ones suffre for his loue
And so he taught all his seruauntes
And but thou amende for his sake aboue 1255
I drede nat all thy mayntenaunce
For if I drede the worldes hate
Me thynketh I were lytell to prayse
I drede nothyng your hye estate
Ne I drede nat your disease 1260

.71.

Wolde ye turne and leaue your pride
your hye porte/ and your richesse

your cursyng shulde nat go so wyde
 God bryng you in to rightwytnesse
 For I drede nat your tyranuy 1265
 For nothyng that ye canne done
 To suffre I am all redy
 Syker I recke neuer howe soone

.72.

Gryffon.

The Gryffon grynned as he were wode
 And loked louely as an owle 1270
 And swore by cockes herte blode
 He wolde hym tere euery doule
 Holy churche thou disclaundrest foule
 For thy reasons I woll the all to race
 And make thy flesshe to rote and moule 1275
 Losell/ thou shalte haue harde grace

.73.

The Gryffon flewe forthe on his waye
 The Pellycane dyd sytte and wepe
 And to hym selfe he gan saye
 God wolde that any of Christes shepe 1280
 Hadde herde/ and ytake kepe
 Eche a worde that here sayd was
 And wolde it write and well it kepe
 God wolde it were all for his grace

.74.

Plowma[n]

I answerde/ and sayd I wolde 1285
 If for my trauayle any man wolde pay
Pelycan.

He sayd yes/ these that god han solde
 For they han store of money

Plowma[n]

I sayd/ tell me and thou may
 Why tellest thou mennes trespace? 1290

Pelycan.

He sayd/ to amende hem in good say
If god woll gyue me any grace

.75.

For Christ hym selfe is lykened to me
That for his people dyed on rode
As fare I/ right so fareth he
He fedeth his byrdes with his blode
But these done yuell ayenst gode
And ben his fone vnder frendes face
I tolde hem howe her lyuyng stode
God amende hem for his grace⁹³

1295

1300

.76.

Plowma[n]

What ayleth the Gryffon/ tell why
That he holdeth on that other syde
For they two ben lykely
And with kyndes robben wyde

Pelycan.

The foule betokeneth pride
As Lucifere/ that high flewe was
And sithe he dyd hym in yuell hyde
For he agylted goddis grace

1305

.77.

As byrde flyeth vp in the ayre
And lyueth by byrdes that ben meke
So these be flowe vp in to dispayre
And shenden sely soules eke⁹⁴
The soules that ben in synnes seke
He culleth hem/ knele therefore alas
For bribry goddis forbode breke
God amende it for his grace

1310

1315

.78.

The hynder parte is a lyoun
A robber and a rauynere
That robbeth they people in erthe a downe

And in erthe holdeth none his pere 1320
 So fareth this foule bothe ferre and nere
 And with temporell strength they people chase
 As a lyon proude in erthe here
 God amende hem for his grace

.79.

Pellycan

He flewe forthe with his wynges twayne 1325
 All droupyng/ dased/ and dull

Gryffon.

But soone the Gryffon came agayne
 Of his foules the erthe was full
 The Pellycan he had cast to pull
 So great a nombre neuer sene there was 1330
 What manere of foules tellen I woll
 If god woll gyue me of his grace

.80.

With the Gryffon comen foules fele
 Rauyns/ rokes/ crows/ and pye
 Grayfoules/ agadred wele 1335
 Igurde aboue they wolde hye
 Gledes and bosardes weren hem by
 White molles and puttockes token her place
 And lapwynges/ that well con[n]eth lye
 This felowshypp han for gerde her grace 1340

.81.

Long the Pellycane was out
 But at last he cometh agayne
 And brought with hym the Phenixe stoute
 The Gryffon wolde haue flowe full fayne
 His foules that flewen as thycke as rayne 1345
 The Phenixe tho began hem chace
 To flye from hym it was in uayne
 For he dyd uengeaunce and no grace

.82.

He slewe hem downe without mercy
There astarte neyther free ne thrall 1350
On hym they cast a rufull crye
Whan the Gryffon downe was fall
He bete hem nat/ but slewe hem all
Whither hem droue no man may trace
Under the erthe me thought they yall 1355
Alas they had a feble grace

.83.

Pellycan

The Pelycan than axed tyght
For my wrytyng if I haue blame
Who woll for me fyght of flyght?
Who shall shelde me from shame 1360
 He that had a mayde to dame
And the lambe that slayne was
Shall shelde me from gostly blame
For erthely harme is goddis grace

.84.

Therefore I pray euery man 1365
Of my wrytyng haue me excused⁹⁵
This writynge writeth the Pellycan
That thus these people hath dispysed
For I am fresshe fully aduysed
I nyll nat maynteyne his manace 1370
For the deuyll is often disguysed
To brynge a man to euyll grace

.85.

Wyteth the Pellycane and nat me
For herof I nyll nat auowe
In hye ne in lowe/ ne in no degre 1375
But as a fable take it ye mowe
To holy church I wyll me bowe
Eche man to amende him Christ sende space
And for my writynge me alowe
He that is almyghty for his grace 1380

FINIS

Printed at Lon-
don by Thomas
Godfray.

Cum priuilegio.

The Plowman's Tale, 1606

The Plough-mans Tale.

*Shewing by the doctrine and liues of
the Romish Clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist
and they his Ministers.*

*Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer,
Knight, amongst his Canterburie tales: and now
set out apart from the rest, with a short exposition
of the words and matters, for the capacitie
and vnderstanding of the simpler
sort of Readers.*

AT LONDON

Printed by *G.E.* for *Samuell Macham*, and *Mathew
Cooke*, and are to be sold at their shop in Paules
Church-yard, at the signe of the
Tygers head. 1606.

[verso title page blank]

[Chaucer. *Canterbury Tales*. General Prologue]

A description of the *Plowman*.•

With him there was a Plowman his brother[†] 1c
 That had iladd[‡] of dong[§] many a fother:^{**}
 A true swinker^{††} and a good was he,
 Liuing in peace and perfit charitee:

•Note: Footnotes (sidenotes numbered for each stanza in the original) are from the original edited by Antony Wotton in 1606. Any material relevant to the 1606 edition only, added by the present editor, is enclosed in []. Any material that relates to both the 1532 and the 1606 editions is indicated by ^{numbers}, and is included in the Endnotes which follow this transcription.

[The following sixteen lines are taken from the 1602 edition of Chaucer's *Works*, with six minor variations in spelling.]

[†]A Ploughman his Brother, hauing before giuen the parson great commendation for his painefull teaching of his people, both by life, and doctrine, hee makes this poore & honest Ploughman his brother, very fitlie with good *decorum*.

[‡]Had iladd, He had loaden many a load of dung.

[§][2c and 8c are echoed in *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 785. [Friars] thei schulden deluen and diggen - & dongen the erthe.]

^{**}A fother, is properly a load in cariage by land, a Tonne by water: namly 2000. waight that is 2240. pound, every hu[n]dred waight making 112. pound: it may seeme then beyond all likelyhood of truth, that Chawcer sayes the Temple of Mars, cost of gold largely a Fother, But we must vnderstand, that he speakes of tale, not of waight, as if he should have said, it cost full 2000. or 2246. pound of money.

^{††}True Swinker: faithfull labourer of swinke labour.

God loued he best with all his heart, 5c
 At all times, though him gamed or smart:
 And then his neighbours right as himselfe,
 He would thresh,[†] and thereto dike and delfe,[‡]
 For Christs sake for every poore wight,
 Withouten hire, if it lay in his might.[§] 10c
 His tithes paid he full faire and well,
 Both of his proper swinke^{**} and his cattell.
 In a Tabard^{††} he rode vpon a Mare,^{‡‡}
 There was also a Reue and a Millare,
 A Sompnour and a Pardoner also, 15c
 A Manciple, and my selfe, there was no moe.

*Though him gamed or smart, whether he were in prosperitie or aduersitie, a Metonymie of the effect or adiunct, for prosperitie is accompanied with ioy: and aduersitie with grieve, signified by smarting, which is one cause thereof.

[†] See line 1043 below.

[‡]Dyke, and delfe, ditch and delue, that is digge.

[§]If it lay in his might, if it were in his power: he meanes not onely the strength of his body, but his businesse, and such other like occasions, by which if he were not hindred, he would ditch and delue for poorer folkes without wages.

^{**}Of his proper swinke, both of the gaine, which came in by his day labour, and of the increase that arose by his Cattaile.

^{††}A Taberd, a sleeuelesse Iaquet, like an Heralds coate of Armes: as appeares by the very signe of the Taberd in Southwarke, an Inne, where Chawcer make the deuise of the Caunterbury tales, to haue bin moued and agreed on.

^{‡‡}A Mare, a very good *decorum*; for we know that such country folke, keepe Mares rather than Horses or Geldings, because of breeding.

In the former editions of Chawcer. *This Tale is made the last, but in the latter, set out by M. Spights aduise, and commendable paine, it is the last sauing the Parsons Tale. I doubt not but this change is warranted by some olde coppies written, as the corrections also of diuers words: and it seemes to bee most reasonable that the Parsons Tale should bee the conclusion of their morning worke.**

[Prologue]

.1.

The Plowman plucked vp[†] his plough,[‡] 1
 Whe[n] Midsummer Moone was comen in,¹
 And said, his beasts[§] should eat ynough,**

* [In Thynne's edition of 1542, the first time the *Plowman's Tale* was printed in Chaucer's *Works*, it was placed at the end. In all subsequent editions of Chaucer's *Works*: 1550, 1561, and the two Speght editions of 1598 and 1602, it was placed before the *Parson's Tale*. This is evidence that Wotton knew of the 1542, as well as the 1598 and 1602 versions when he prepared his edition. There is no way to prove that Wotton knew the 1542 edition by counting words.]

[†]Plucked vp. The Poet [t]o signifie that the Ploughma[n] gaue ouer worke for that season, saies he plucked vp his Plough: because in Ploughing hee keeps the Plough downe into the earth, that hee may make his furrowe to receiue the seede, when he leaues worke, especially for any time, he plucks vp his Plough.

[‡]Plough, so I read it rather than Plow, because of the rime, whereof by and by.

[§]Beasts, Oxen, by a Synechdoche, the generall being put for one speciall kinde, for all foure footed, and sometimes all creatures voide of reason, are signified by the name of beasts.

**Ynough, In this worde we may obserue, that which is very rare in our tongue, if at all to be found, that *enough*, whether we take it for a

And ligge in the grasse vp to the chin:
 They been feeble both Oxe and Cowe,² 5
 Of hem nis left but bone and skin:
 He shoke off[†] shere, and coult[‡] of drowe,
 And honge his harnis[§] on a pin.

.2.

He tooke his Tabard and his Staffe eke,
 And on his head he set his hat: 10
 And saied he would saint Thomas seeke,
 On pilgrimage³ he goth forth plat:**
 In scrippe he bare both bread and leekes,

Nowne Adiective, or for an Aduerbe, hath difference of number, enough is referred to greatnesse or littlenesse, as meate enough, money enough: enow belonges to many or few, and is of the plural number: as dishes enow, pounds enow, vnlesse (which is not likely) they be two diuers words. In this place therefore the word signifying quantitie, not number, must be enough and not enow.

*Of hem nis left. There is nothing but skinne and bone left on them, *Nis ne is*, is not, *Hem*, them, as *Hee*, him, in the singular: and in old written bookes, *Hy*, which is the Saxon word, for they, whence comes *Hem* and *Her* for them and their.

[†]Shooke of, he shooke off his plough share, it should seeme it was pind on, and the pinne being puld out, and the plough lifted vp, the share would easily be shakt off. Share so called, because it sheeres or cuts the ground.

[‡]Cultre, Culter in Latin is a Knife, which that peece of the plough resembles, as for vse, so almost for fashion to. *Drow*, *drew*: he puld the Culter off, or rather out of the mortice hoale in the beame where it is wedged in.

[§]Harneys, the Chaines and yoakes for the Oxen.

**Plat, flat plaine, that is, he goes directly on pilgrimage without stay or doubt.

He was forswonke and all forswat,*
 Me[n] might haue seene throug both his cheekes,⁴ 15
 And euery wang tooth,[†] and where it sat.

.3.

Our hoste beheld well all about:[‡]
 And saw this man[§] was Sunne ybrent,[§]
 He knew well by his senged snout,**
 And by his clothes that were to rent,^{††} 20
 He was a man wont to walke about,
 He nas not^{‡‡} alway in cloyster ypent:^{§§}

*Forswonke & forswat, ouerlaboured and besweated, the meaning is, that he did appeare to be a man that had taken sore paines, and had much sweate dried vpon him, which had tanned him, or made him tawny.

[†]Wang tooth, The wanges are the great teeth, which in a dogge are called fangs: Chawcer, addes tooth rather, for his verse sake, than any necessitie. His cheekes were so thin, that you might see the fashion of every great tooth, euen to the very rootes of it, the gummes being fallen in betwixt them.

[‡]Beheld well all about: either lookt euery waye about him, vpon the company to see whom he could spie, that had not as yet tolde his tale, or else lookt wistly vpon the ploughman, and viewed him from top to toe.

[§]Ybrent: Y, is added for the verse. He saw that he was Sunne-burnt.

**Senged snowt: Tand or Tauny visage by Synechdoche: the snoute or nose, being one part of the face, is put for the whole: that also is most subject to sunne-burning, because it stands furthest out from the face, and so is least shaded.

^{††}To rent: Ragged and torne; we now say all to rent or torne.

^{‡‡}Nas not: ne was not, that is, was not: two negatiues, being vsed after the Greeke phrase, where one might serue: it is very common in olde

He could not religiousliche lout,•
And therefore was he fully shent.†

.4.

Our hoste him axed,‡ what man art thou? 25
Sir (quoth he) I am an hine,§
For I am wont to goe to plow,⁶
And earne my meat ere that I dine:⁷
To swette and swinke I make a uow,**
My wife and children therewith to find, 30
And serue God and I wist†† how,
But we leaud‡‡ men been full blind.

English Poets.

§§Ypent: shut vp, y added for the verse, we now say to Pen: but our forefathers to pend: as part 2. stat. 22. See Footnote Page 173, line 650.

*Religiousliche lout: bow or duck, as Friers or Religious men vse to doe.

†Fully shent: much blamed; perhaps it should be full ill shent, of the Verbe shend: as lent, of lend: and generally all Verbes of one syllable ending in en, or end, make the other tense, adding or changing d. into t. as bren, brent, pen, pent, send, sent, lend, lent, but tend, of the Latin tendo, tended, and mend for amend, of the French, amender, amended.

‡Axed, so they spake, and writte anciently, putting .s. after k. *Aks*, not before it *Ask*, as wee now doe for the most part.

§Hine, Ploughman.

**A vow, I vow to labour and sweat, it is my profession: borrowed from Friers and Monkes.

††Wist, knew.

‡‡Leaud, unlearned, not as we now vse the word, wicked.

.5.

For clerkes say we shullen be faine·
 For her liuelood[†] swette and swinke,[§]
 And they right nought[‡] vs giue againe, 35
 Neither to eate, ne yet to drinke:
 They mowe[§] by law, as they saine,
 Vs curse and damne to hell brinke,
 Thus they putten vs to paine
 With candles queint,^{**} and bels clinke.^{††} 40

.6.

They make vs thralls^{‡‡} at her lust,^{§§}
 And saine we mow not els be saued:
 They haue the corne,^{***} and we the dust,⁹

*Shullen be faine, either should bee glad, or shall doe it whether we will or no.

[†]Lyuelood, living: Clergie men say that wee should be glad to labour for their liuing, and to sweate for it.

[‡]Right nought, nothing at all.

[§]They mowe, may or might.

^{**}Candles queint, candles quenched: by putting out of candles, signifying that the light of him whom they curse, is put out.

^{††}Bells clinke, sound or tinckling of bells, a word made of the sound.

^{‡‡}Thralls, slaues and bond, namely, by keeping the people in such seruile feare.

^{§§}At her lust, at their pleasure.

^{***}They haue the corne, of such shepheards speakes maister *Spencer* in his *Kalender*. [*Spencer, The Shepheardes Calender (The Works of Edmund Spencer*. Variorum edition, v. 7, Part 1. Edd. Greenlaw, Osgood, Padelford, Heffner. (Baltimore, 1960), Iulye, 187-191, Theyr

Who speakes thereagain, they say he raues.

What man (qd. our host) canst thou preach?

45

Come neere and tell vs some holy thing:

Sir (quoth he) I heard ones teach

A priest in pulpit a good preaching.

Say on (quoth our host) I thee beseech:

Sir, I am ready at your bidding:

50

I pray that no man me reproch

While that I am my tale telling.

sheepe han crustes, and they the bread:/ the chippes, and they the chere:/
They han the fleece, and eke the flesh,/ (O sely sheepe the while)/ The
corne is theirs, let other thresh,/ their hands they may not file.]

The Plowmans Tale.

*A complaint against the pride and couetousnesse of the Cleargie: made no doubt by Chawcer, with the rest of the Tales. For I haue seene it in written hand in Iohn Stowes Librarie, in a booke of such antiquitie as seemeth to haue been written neare to Chawcers time.**

.1.

A sterne strife[†] is stirred new,[‡]
 In many steedes[§] in a stound,**
 Of sundry seeds that ben sew,^{††} 55
 It seemeth that some been vnsou[n]d:¹⁰
 For some be great growne on ground,^{‡‡}
 Some been soukle,^{§§} simple and small,
 Whether of hem is falsen found,
 The falsen foule mote him befall.*** 60

* [This comment is in Speght's 1598 edition, Sig. c.v., "The Arguments to Every Tale and Book," and as here, between the *Plowman's Prologue* and *Tale*, in the 1602 edition.]

[†]Sterne, strife, sharpe contention.

[‡]Is stirred new, is stirred now of late.

[§]Steeds, places.

**In a stound, on a soudaine.

^{††}Sew, sowen.

^{‡‡}Unground, eyther it should be on ground, or vpon the ground, or els he addes vnground, to shew the greatnesse of them.

^{§§}Soukle, poore and thin.

***Mote him befall, euill might the falsen of these two kinde of seed fare.

.2.

That one side is, that I of tell,
 Popes, Cardinals, and Prelates,
 Parsons, Monkes, and Freres fell,[†]
 Priours, Abbots, of great estates:
 Of heauen and hell they keepe the yates, 65
 And Peters successours they been all,
 This is deemed[‡] by old dates,
 But falsed foule mote it befall.¹¹

.3.

The other side ben poore and pale,
 And people put out of prease,[§] 70
 And seeme catiffes** sore a cale,^{††}
 And euer in one^{‡‡} without encrease,
 Iclep¹²ed^{§§} lollers^{§§} and londlese:***

*That one side, the one side that I tell of, is Popes, K.

[†]Freres fell, *frere* brothers; expresses the Latin father. *fell*, cruel.

[‡]This is deemed, this is iudged or determined by old records, his meaning is thus, it hath been thought, time out of minde.

[§]Out of prease. Thrist out of the company of men, as not worthy to liue amongst men.

**Cattyffes, wretches.

^{††}Sore a cale: much pinched with miserie, colde and hunger.

^{‡‡}Euer in one, alwayes alike, without any preferment.

^{§§}*Icleped*: cleped, called, *Lollers*: the true Christians which either seuered themselues from popish idolatry and abhominat[i]on, or were knowne to mislike of them, were called *Lollers*: as if they had been but weeds in the Church. if that be the deriuat[i]on of the word, it should be written with one L. *Lolers*, for *lo* in *lolium*, is short, as appears by that verse of Virgil: *Infoelix lolium & steriles dominantur*

Who toteth on hem• they ben vntall¹³
 They ben araied all for the peace,[†] 75
 But falshed foule mote it befall.

.4.

Many a countrey haue I sought,
 To know the falsere of the two:
 But euer my trauaile was for nought,[‡]
 All so ferre[§] as I haue go. 80
 But as I wandred in a wro,^{**}
 In a wood beside a wall,^{††}
 Two foules saw I sitten tho^{‡‡}

auenae. See maister Spights notes.

***Londlese, Landlesse, without land; hauing not such possessions and liuings as the Friars and monkes haue, so the Protestants in the Lowe countries, were called *Gen.* poore people, and some Christians in *France* heretofore, poor men of *Lyons*: They are afterward said to haue bin without land.

*Who toteth on hem: who lookes on them, shall see they are lowe, weake, poore.

[†]All for the peace: they are wholly prepared for peace, attired as men of peace.

[‡]For nought: in vaine.

[§]All so ferre: as farre, as I haue gone though I traueld so farre, all was in vaine.

**In a wro: In griefe or anger, as I trauaild from place to place, griued that I could not learne the truth of this matter.

^{††}A wall: that is, as I take it, a well: for woods vse not to be walled: and in this tale afterward, wall is put for well; As bucket into the well.

^{‡‡}Tho, then.

The falser foule mote* him befall.

.5.

That one did plete on the Popes side 85
A griffon of grimme stature,
A Pellicane withouten pride
To these lollers laied his lure:†
He mused his matter‡ in measure,
To counsaile§ Christ euer gan he call: 90
The Griffon shewed as sharpe as fyre.
But falshed foule mote it befall.

.6.

The Pellicane began to preach¹⁴
Both of mercie and of meekenesse:
And saied that Christ so gan vs teach, 95
And meeke and merciabile** gan blesse:
The Euangely†† beareth witnesse,
A lambe he likeneth‡‡ Christ ouer all,¹⁵

*Foule mote: Foule mote befall the falser, foule must not be ioyned with falser, but with befall, the foule euill take the falser of them.

†Layd his lure, cast his liking, or his perswading, spake for these Lollers.

‡Mused his matter: he ranged his matter in good order.

§To counsaile: Hee alwayes called Christ to his counsaile, that is, he proued his matters by our Sauour Christs authoritie, out of the Scriptures.

**Merciabile: Mercifull.

††Euangely, Euangill, Gospell, or rather Euangelist, because in the next verse, He likeneth.

‡‡A Lambe he likeneth: Hee that is the Euangelist meaning especially *Iohn* likens Christ to a Lambe, ouer all; especially aboue all things.

In tokening· that he meekest was,¹⁶
 Sith pride was[†] out of heauen fall. 100

.7.

And so should euery Christened[‡] be:
 Priests,[§] Peters successours
 Both lowliche and of low degree,
 And vsen none earthly honours.¹⁷
 Neither croune, ne curious couetours,** 105
 Ne pillour,^{††} ne other proud pall,^{‡‡}

*In tokening: In signification, (or as we now speake) in token that he was verie meeke.

[†]Sith pride was. Eyther because pride was, &. or long since pride was fallen out of heaven.

[‡]Euery Christned: Euery Christian, or euery man that is christned.

[§]Priests, Yea Priests, and Peters successours; so is the verse and the sense more perfect, euen priests and Bishops, with the Pope himselfe must be lowly.

**Curious couetours: I thinke it should be, couertures, of couering: and then the meaning is that they should not haue cloakes of estate, and Cannapies, curiously wrought to couer themselues with.

^{††}Pillour: a Pillor is one of the ensignes or markes which is vsually carried before Cardinals, to signifie that they forsooth are Pillars of the Church.

^{‡‡}Pall: of the Latin *pallum*: it is an attire belonging properly to Archbishops, and must be had new for euery Archbishop from Rome, at a deare rate: by their superstitious order, it should be made of the wooll of one of those two Lambes, which on *S. Agnes* day being laid vpon the high Altar, in Saint *Peters* church, are after this hallowing of them, committed to the Subdeacons of that Church, and kept by them in a pasture appointed. The whole garment is not made of that wooll, but only that list or plate of it which falles downe before and behinde, and

Ne nought to cofren vp* great treasours,
For falshed foule mote it befall.

.8.

Priests should for[†] no cattell plede,
But chasten hem in charite:¹⁸ 110
Ne to no battaile[‡] should men lede,
For inhaunsing of her owne degree.
Nat wilne sittings[§] in high see,
Ne soueraignty in hous ne hall,
All worldly worship defie and flee: 115
For who willeth highnes, foule shall fall.

.9.

Alas who may** such saints call,
That wilneth welde earthly honour:
As low as Lucifer such shall fall
In balefull blacknesse^{††} to builden her boure, 120

compasses the neck about.

*Cofren vp: lay vp in their cofer.

[†]Priests should for: priests should not goe to law with their parishoners
for tithe of cattell, but should charitablie admonish and reprove them.

[‡]Ne to no battaile: Nor should make warre, as diuers popes haue done,
for the aduancing of their owne honour.

[§]Nat willen sitting: they should not be desirous to sit in places of great
estate and gournment, nor to have soueraigne commaund in pallaces
and places of iudgment, or in goodly houses and halles where many
people assemble.

**Alas who may: Who may cal[l] such men saints as desire to rule or
beare sway with earthly honor.

^{††}In balefull blacknesse: They shall haue their dwelling in sorrowfull
darknesse.

That eggeth* the people to errour,
 And maketh them to hem thrall:
 To Christ I hold† such one traitour,
 As low as Lucifer such one shal fall.

.10.

That willeth to be kings peeres,[‡] 125
 And higher than the Emperour:
 And some that were§ but poore Freres,
 Now wollen waxe a warriour.
 God is not her governour,
 That holdeth** no man his permagall, 130
 While couetise†† is her counsailour,
 All such falshed mote need fall.

.11.

That high on horse willeth ride¹⁹
 In glitterande gold^{‡‡} of great array,²⁰
 Ipainted and portred all in pride, 135
 No common knight may go so gay:
 Chaunge of clothing euery day,
 With golden girdles great and small,

*Eggeth: prouoketh the people to erre, either for knowledge or carriage.

†To Christ I hold: I accompt such a man a traitor to Christ.

‡Kings peeres: That desire to be equall to Kings.

§Some that weren: some man of them that were but poore Freres will waxe a warriour.

**That holdeth: That accompts no man his equall, as the pope does.

††While couetise: as long as couetousnesse is their counsellor.

‡‡Glitterand gold: glittering golde of chargeable attire, painted and portraied, imbrodred with diuers deuises.

As boistous* as is Beare at bay,
And such falshed mote need fall. 140

.12.

With pride[†] punisheth they the poore,
And some they sustaine[‡] with sale,
Of holy church[§] make they an hore,
And filleth her wombe with wine and ale:
With money fill they many a male, 145
And chaffren churches** when they fall,
And telleth the people a leaud tale,
Such false faitours^{††} foule hem befall.²¹

.13.

With change of many manner meates,²²
With song and solas sitting long, 150
And filleth her wombe, and fast fetes,^{‡‡}
And from the meat to the gong:^{§§}
And after meat with harpe and song.
And each man mote hem Lords call,

*As boistous: with girdles of gold massie and strong, as it were a chaine,
to holde a Beare to a stake withall, that he may not breake away.

[†]With pride: They punish the poore, proudly, and disdainfully.

[‡]Some they sustaine: some other that are able to bribe them, they
vpholde in their lewdnesse.

[§]Of holy Church: They make holye church a whore, to be hired for
money.

**Chaffren Churches: buy Church liuings and preferments.

^{††}Faytours: Deceiuers, cooseners.

^{‡‡}Fast fetes: chafe a pace.

^{§§}Gong: privie: whence gong fermer.

And hote spices euer among,* 155
Such false faitours foule hem fall.

.14.

And miters mo than one or two,
Ipearled[†] as the Queenes head:
A staffe[‡] of gold, and perrie lo,
As heaue as it were made of lead, 160
With cloth of gold both new and redde,
With glitterande gold as greene as gall:[§]
By dome they damne** men to dedde,
All such faitours foule hem fall.

.15.

And Christs people proudly curse, 165
With broad boke, and braying bell:^{††}
To put pennies in her purse,
They wol sell both heauen and hell,²³
And in her sentence^{††} and thou wilt dwell,

*Hote spices euer among: alwayes hote spices in their meates and drinke.

[†]Ipearled, perled, set with pearles, as the signe of the Queenes head is.

[‡]A staffe: The Bishops Crosyer or sheephooke: of gold and pearle, and precious stone.

[§]As greene as gall: the moisture in the gall of liuing creatures is greene: it should seeme he meanes that the gold is enamiled with greene.

**By dome they damne: By iudgment or sentence, they will condemne me[n] to death.

^{††}Braying bell: Sounding bell: before wee had Bels clinck, to bray, is properly *Rudere*, to crie as an Asse does.

^{‡†}And in her sentence: Perhaps hee meanes, if thou wilt like of their sentence, and will stand to it, they will entertaine thee as a guest in their braue halles: or else they will here and end thy matter, without any great

They willen gesse in her gay hall, 170
 And thou the sooth* of hem will tell,
 In great cursing shalt thou fall.

.16.

That is blessed, that they blesse,
 And cursed that they curse woll:
 And thus the people they oppresse, 175
 And haue their lordships at full.
 And many be marchants of wull,
 And to purse pennies woll come thrall:†
 The poore people‡ they all to pull,
 Such false faitours foule hem fall. 180

.17.

Lords also mote to hem^s loute,²⁴
 Obeysant to her brode blessing.
 They riden with her royal route
 On a courser, as it were a King,
 With saddle of gold glittering, 185
 With curious harneis** quaintly crallit,

enquirie, priuately in their houses.

*Though the sooth. But if thou speake against them, though neuer so truly, thou shalt come vnder their heauie curse.

†Will come Thrall: will become slaues to get money: as if they cared not how basely they delt, so they might put money in their purses.

‡The poore people: they fleese the poore people, & as it were pluck of their wool.

^sLords mote to hem: Lords must do them reuerence falling downe obediently to their blessing, when they blesse the people on euery side.

**With curious harneis: with curious furniture daintily engrauen: strangely not after any ordinary manner or workemanship.

Stirrops gay of gold mastling,*
All such falshed foule befall it.

.18.

Christs ministers[†] cleped they beene,
And rulen all in robberie: 190
But Antichrist they seruen clene,²⁵
Attired all[‡] in tyrannie:
Witnesse of Iohns prophecie,
That Antichrist is her admirall,
Tiffelers attired[§] in trecherie, 195
All such faitours foule hem fall.

.19.

Who saith,** that some of hem^{††} may sinne,
He shall be dome to be ded:
Some of hem woll gladly winne
All ayenst that which God forbed:²⁶ 200
All holiest^{‡‡} they clepen her head,
That of her rule is regall:

*Gold mastling: Glistring gold.

[†]Christs Ministers: They are called Christs ministers or seruants: but they serue Antichrist altogether, cleane, as if there were nothing in their seruice, but that which is belonging and fitting for Antichrist.

[‡]Attired all: wholly clothed with cruelty, giuen to cruelty.

[§]Tiffelers attired: Triflers, giuen to treacherie, and false dealing.

**Who so saith: whosoeuer sayes, that any of the[m] may sinne, shal be iudged to death.

^{††}Some of hem: some of them would with all their heart, thriue by such courses, as God hath forbidden men to followe.

^{‡‡}All holiest: They call their head most holy: who is of Kingly or Soueraigne authoritie.

Alas that euer they eaten bread,
For all such falshed wol foule fall.

.20.

Her head loueth all honour, ²⁷	205
And to be worshipped in word and dede,	
Kings mote to hem kneele and coure,*	
To the Apostles [†] that Christ forbede. ²⁸	
To Popes hestes [‡] such take[t]h more hede,	
Than to keepe Christs commandement:	210
Of gold and siluer [§] mote been her wede,	
They holdeth him** hole omnipotent.	

.21.

He ordaineth ^{††} by his ordinance	
To parish priests a powere:	
To another ^{‡‡} a great auance,	215

*Coure: crouch.

[†]To the Apostles: That which Christ forbad the Apostles, Christ forbad the Apostles, to let any man kneele or crouch to them.

[‡]To Popes hests: such men regard the popes decrees, more then Christs commandements.

[§]Of gold and siluer: Their apparell must be of gold and siluer.

**They holdeth him: They accompt the Pope wholly Almightye.

^{††}He ordaineth: The pope giues a parish priest one kinde of power: expresseth the Latin in their letters of orders, *facultatem*: licence to execute their ministry thus, or thus farre.

^{‡‡}To another: to another of his Cleargie he giues a greater aduancement or power.

A greater point* to his mistere.
 But for he is highest in earth[†] here,
 To him reserues he many a point:
 But to Christ[‡] that hath no pere,
 Reserues he neither o pin ne ioint.[§] 220

.22.

So seemeth he aboue all,
 And Christ aboue him nothing:
 When he sitteth in his stall,
 He damneth** and saueth as him thinke.
 Such pride tofore God doth stinke: 225
 An angell bad Iohn to him not knele,²⁹

*A greater point: and yet a higher degree of power to some speciall minister or seruant, whom he does employ, as to his Legate a later. The meaning is, that the pope deuides the power, that he saith God hath giuen to his ministers, diuersly as pleases himselfe, some to this man, some to that man, as for hearing confessions, and giuing absolutions, enioyning of penance, and such like.

[†]But for he is highest on earth: One man may giue absolution for such, or such sinnes: an other man for such onely: but because the pope himselfe is highest here on earth, he reserues many points of that power, which he sayes the Church hath to himselfe onely.

[‡]But to Christ: He reserues nothing to Christ, who yet is without any partner or equall.

[§]O pin, ne ionit [misprint]: One pin nor ioynt, perhaps it is for iote, else tis a metaphor, taken from building, wherein pins and ioynts are the smallest things.

**Damneth: condemns and saues whom he thinkes good. Note: Next three footnotes reversed in original order.

But onely to God doe his bowing,*
Such willers of worship† must need euill feele.‡

.23.

They ne clepen^s Christ, but sanctus Deus,
And clepen her head Sanctissimus: 230
They that such a sect sewis,**
I trowe they†† taken hem amisse:
In earth here‡‡ they haue her blisse,
Her high maister^{ss} is Beliall.
Christes people from hem*** wisse, 235
For all such false will foule fall.

*To God doe his bowing: bowe downe to God onely, or doe GOD onely worship.

†Willers of worship: they that so desire worship, shall feele some hurt or euill.

Euill fell: either fell is for fall, as the rime requires, or else it is for feeling.

^sThey ne clepen: They cal Christ but holy God: but they call their head, most holy, yea, as if holinesse were proper to and from him communicated in measure to all other, as honour is from princes to their subiects, they say of the pope his holinesse, as of a Prince his maiestie: as if holinesse were inuested in the Popes person, as authoritie and honour is in the princes.

**Sewys: follow.

††I trowe they: I beleeeue they mistake the right way.

‡‡In earth here: They haue their felicitie or happinesse here in earth.

^{ss}Her high Maister: The diuell is their chiefe Lord and maister.

***Christes people from hem: Warne Christes people to keepe away from them:

.24.

They mowe both binde* and lose,³⁰
 And all is for her holy life:
 To saue or damne they mow chose,
 Betweene hem now is great strife.³¹
 Many a man is killed with knife,[†]
 To wete which of hem[‡] haue lordship shall,
 For such Christ[§] suffred wounds fiue.
 For all such falshed will foule fall.

240

.25.

Christ said: *Qui gladio percutit*,**
 With swerd surely he shall die.³²
 He bad his Priests^{††} peace and grith,
 And bad hem not drede for to die.³³
 And bad them be both simple³⁴ and slie,^{††}

245

*They mow both binde: They may binde & loose, they are so holy.

†With a knife: One kinde of weapon put for an other: Knife for Sword.

‡To weete which of hem, many a ma[n] is slaine, that it may be knowne whether of them that claime the Popedome, shall haue the Lordship or gouernment.

§For such Christ: Either we must read it with an interrogation: did Christ suffer fiue wounds for such kinde of men? referring it to the Pope: or else we must vnderstand it of the Christians, that are slaine in these warres betwixt the Popes, as who would say: They that are slaine in these quarrels, are such as Christ dyed for, and therefore they should be more regarded.

***Qui gladio percutit*: He that smites with sword.

††He bad his priests: Hee commanded his Priests to seeke for peace and truth.

††Simple and slie. Simple as Doues, and wise as Serpents.

And carke not for no^r cattell, 250
And trusteth on God that sitteth on hie,
For all false shall full foule fall.

.26.

These wollen[†] make men to swere
Ayenst Christes commaundement:
And Christis members all to tere,[‡] 255
On roode, as he were new yrent.
Such lawes they maken by common assent:
Each one it throweth[§] as a ball,[§]
Thus the poore be fully shent,
But euer falshed foule it befall. 260

.27.

They vsen no simonie,
But sellen churches and priories:
Ne they vsen no enuie,

*Carke not for no: Take no thought for the things of this world, but put thy trust in God that is in heauen.

[†]These wollen: They will make me[n] take an oth: where there is no need of any such Tryall, which is against Christis commandement, who charges all men to vse othes with great reuere[n]ce, in matters of necessitie, and not otherwise. See *Chawcers* Testament of Loue. lib. I. fol. 278. [Folio 292 in 1598 edition. [Margaret speaks] "Euery oth by knitting of copulacion muste haue these lawes. That is true iudgement and rightwisenesse, in which thing, in any of these lacke, the other is iturned into the name of perjury. . . ensample of Herodes for holding his serment, was dampned."]

[‡]All to tere: they teare Christis members in peeces, as if hee were now a fresh wounded and mangled on the crosse.

[§]Each one it throweth as a Ball: Euery one of these Clergie-men, take and throw the lawes vp and downe like a Ball, as if they were but matters of sport.

But cursen all· hem contraries,
 And hireth men by dayes and yeares, 265
 With strength to hold hem[†] in her stall:
 And culleth all her aduersaries,[‡]
 Therefore falsched foule thou fall.

.28.

With purse they purchase personage,
 With purse they paynen[§] hem to plede, 270
 And men of warre they woll wage
 To bring her enemies to the dede:
 And lords liues they woll lede,
 And much take, and giue but small.
 But he it so get,** from it shall shede, 275
 And make such false,^{††} right foule fall.

.29.

They halow nothing but for hire
 Church, ne font, ne vestement,
 And make orders in euery shire,

*But cursen all: They are not enuious against any ma[n], but they curse all that withstand or gainesay them.

[†]To hold hem: They hire Souldiers and other men, to keepe them in their places and liuings from yeare to yeare, by fine force.

[‡]Culleth all her aduersaries: Pluck out and driue away all that are against them.

[§]With purse they paynen: They hire men with money to plead and fight for them, that they may kill their enemies.

**But he it so get: He that so gets his goods, shall soone loose them: shall shede, that is shall fall away from them.

^{††}And make such false: Perhaps it should be *such false right, foule shall fall*:

But priests pay* for the parchement. 280
Of riotours† they taken rent,
Therwith they smere the shepes skall:
For many churches ben oft suspent,
And all such falshed foule it fall.

.30.

Some liueth not in lecherie,³⁶ 285
But haunten‡ wenchis, widowes, and wiues,
And punisheth the poore for putree.§
Them selfe it vseth all their liues:
And but a man to them him shriues,
To heauen come he neuer shall, 290
He shall be cursed as be cattiuies,
To hell they saine that he shall fall.

.31.

There was more mercy in *Maximian*,³⁷
And in *Nero*,** that neuer was good,
Than is now in some of them, 295

*But Priests pay: They giue orders, whereby men become Priests, but they pay sweetly for it, that are ordered priests by them

†Of Riotours: They take a yearely rent (as the Pope does of his curtizans 20000. Duckets yearely of men and women that liue in filthinesse, and for that they slubber ouer their matter, smeering, that is, annointing their sores, their sinnes: as if their absolution healed them.

‡Haunten: ordinarily vse the company.

§Putree, Putainerie, French fornication: The speech is growne into a Prouerbe, to punish a man for putry.

**Maximian & Nero, were two persecuting, and tyrannicall Emperours.

When he hath on his furred hood.*
 They follow Christ[†] that shed his blood
 To heauen, as buckette into the wall:
 Such wretches[‡] ben worse than wood,
 And all such faitours foule hem fall. 300

.32.

They giue her almes to the riche,³⁸
 To maintainours,[§] and men of lawe:
 For to Lords^{**} they will be liche,³⁹
 An harlots sonne not worth an hawe,
 Sothfastnesse^{††} all such han flawe: 305
 They kembe^{‡‡} her crokettes with christall,⁴⁰

*His furred hood: When he is in his robes, to sit in iudgment, whereof a whood furred with miniuer is part.

†They follow Christ: They follow Christ, in the way to heauen-ward, as a Bucket into the Well: he shed his blood for his sheepe, they fleese and kill the sheepe, so that they take a quite contrarie way to Christs course, euen as the Bucket, that goes downward in a contrary way to heauen, which is vpward.

‡Such wretches: Such wicked men are worse than madde.

§To maintenours: To them that may maynteine them, eyther by crafty pleading for them, or by force and authoritie.

**For to Lords: For they will bee equall, like to Lords, though they be the sonnes of neuer so meane people: as Cardinall *Wolsey* was a Butchers sonne of Iptswitch: See *Pierce Ploughmans Creede* of this point: *Now mote eche souter his sonne setten to Schoole*. [Line 744 of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*.]

††Sothfastnesse: Such men haue slaine truth.

‡‡They kembe: They combe their locks with christall combes.

And drede of God· they haue doune drawe,
All such faitours foule hem fall.

.33.

They maken parsons for the pennie,	
And Canons, and her Cardinals,	310
Vnnethes [†] amonges hem all is any,	
That he ne hath glosed the gospell fals.	
For Christ made neuer no Cathedrals,	
Ne with him was no Cardinall,	
With redde hatte as vsen minstrals.	315
But falsched foule mote it befall.	

.34.

Their tithing, [‡] and her offering both,	
They clemeth it by possession, ⁴¹	
Thereof nil [§] they none forgo,	
But robben men as raunsome.	320

*And drede of God: They haue pulled downe the feare of God.

[†]Vnnethes: There is scarce any one amongst them, that hath not falsely expounded the Gospell.

[‡]Their tithing: They claime their titles and offrings, as their proper possession.

[§]Thereof will: They will loose none of their tithes or offrings, but rob men of them, as if it were due to them, as the ransome of a man. He alludes to that place of *Num.* I.47.& 3.40.& Where God sayes, that all the first borne were due to him and his seruice in the Tabernacle, but that it pleased his maiestie to take the *Leuites* in their stead, and to ransome them at a certaine price. [All the possible fighting men from the age of twenty years upward were numbered. Numbers 1:47. But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among them. 3:40. And the Lord said unto Moses, Number all the firstborn of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and take the number of their names. 41. And thou shalt take the Levites for me (I *am* the Lord) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel.]

The tithing of^{*} *Turpe lucrum*,⁴²
 With these maisters is veniall.
 Tithing of brybry,[†] and larson
 Will make falshood full foule to fall.

.35.

They taken to ferme [‡] her sompnours,	325
To harme the people what they may:	
To pardoners, [§] and false faitours	
Sell her seales I dare well say:	
And all to holden ^{**} great aray,	
To multiply hem ^{††} more metall,	330
They drede full little domes day,	
When all such falshed shall foule fall.	

.36.

*The tithing of: The tithe of filthie gaine, is but a veniall matter with them, as if it were a sinne easie to be pardoned.

†Tithing of Bribery: Taking tithe of bribery and theft, *viz.* absolving of them, or at least receiuing tith[e] of them, that get by bribery and deceit.

‡They taken to ferme: They let the Somnership out to ferme: They ferme out the office of summoning men to their courts.

§To Pardoners: they sell their seales to pardoners: popish Bishops haue authoritie to graunt pardons in their Diocesse, which for money they sell to pardoners.

**And all to holden: and all this they do, that they may be able to keepe a great port.

††To multiply hem: To bring them in more siluer and gold, first metall *Metalepsis*, the generall word for siluer and gold, then siluer and gold for money coyned.

Such harlottes* shul men disclaunder,
For they shullen make hem gree:
And ben as proude as Alexander, 335
And saine to the poore, woe be ye.
By yere eche Priest† shall pay his fee,
To encrease his lemmans call:⁴³
Such heerdes shul‡ wel ruel thee,
And all such false shul foule fall. 340

.37.

And if a man§ be falsely famed,
And wol make purgacion,
Than woll the Officers be agramed,
And assigne him fro toun to toun:
So need he must pay raunsome, 345
Though he be clene, as is Christall,
And then haue an absolution,
But al such false shull foule fall.

.38.

Though he be giltie** of the dede,

*Such harlottes shull: such paltrye companions shall raise slaunders on men, that they may driue them to some agreement.

†By yere eche Priest: Euery priest shall pay the Bishop a yearely rent, that he may freely keepe a queane.

‡Such heards shull: Such keepers or gouerneours shall thriue ill.

§And if a man: Haue a slander raisd of him, and would cleare himselfe of it by triall, the officers of the courts will be displeased, and put him off from time to time, appointing him to appeare now at this towne, than at that towne, so that there is no remedy but he must needs pay the fees of the court, though he be neuer so cleare in the matter.

**Though hee be guilty: Let him bee neuer so guilty, if he be well monyed, as long as his purse wil yeeld any money, he may continne [misprint] in his wickednesse.

And that he may money paie, 350
 Al the while his purse wol blede,
 He may vse it fro day to day:
 The Bishops officers gone ful gay,
 And this game* they vsen ouer al,
 The poore to pill† is al their pray. 355
 All such false shul foule fall.

.39.

Alas, God ordained neuer such lawe,
 Ne no such craft‡ of couetise;
 He forbad it by his sawe,
 Such gouernours§ mowen of God agrise, 360
 For all his rules is right wise,
 These new points** be pure papall,
 All Gods lawe they dispise.
 All such faitours shul foule fall.

.40.

They saine that Peter had the key,⁴⁴ 365
 Of heuen and hel, to haue and hold,
 I trowe Peter tooke no money,
 For no sinnes that he sold:
 Such successours ben to bold,

*And this game: And they vse this sport aboue al other towards all men, to make them pay by one meanes or an other.

†The poore to pill: They make a prey of the poore by pilling them.

‡Ne such craft: Such craftie couetousnesse: he forbad it by his word or saying.

§Such gouernours: Such gouernours ought to bee afraide of God, or shall be grieued, and punished by God.

**These new points: These new lawes are wholly from the Pope.

In winning al their wit they wral,*
Her conscience is waxen cold:
And al such faitours foule hem fall. 370

.41.

Peter was neuer so great a fole
To leaue his key with such a lorell:†
Or take‡ such cursed soch a tole,
He was aduised§ nothing well. 375
I trowe they haue the key of hell,
Their master is of that place marshall,
For there they dressen hem to dwel:
And with false Lucifer there to fall. 380

.42.

They been as proud as Lucifarre,
As angry, and as enuious,
From good fayth** they been full farre,
In couetise†† they been curious:‡
To catch cattle‡‡ as couetous 385
As hound, that for hunger woll yall,

*Their wit they wrall: They straine their wittes to the vttermost, to get all they can.

† A Lorell: Such a griper, and couetous carelesse wretch.

‡ Or to take: To commit such a *tole*, as the Key of heauen, to so cursed a wretch.

§ He was aduised: Hee had bin ill aduised, if hee had done so.

**Good faith: They are farre from plaine and true dealing.

†† In couetise: They are skilfull & craftie in couetousnesse.

‡‡ To couet cattaile: As couetous to get goods as a hound, that cryes for hunger, is greedy to get his victuals.

Vngodly, and vngracious,
And nedely* such falshed shall foule fal.

.43.

The Pope and he were[†] Peters heire.
Me thinke he erreth in this case: 390
When choise of bishops is in despaire
To chosen hem in diuers place:
A Lord shall write to him for grace,
For his clerke anone pray he shall,
So shall hee speed his purchase. 395
And all such false hem fall.

.44.

Though he can[†] doe no good,
A Lords praier shall be sped,
Though he be wild of will[§] or wood,
Not vnderstanding** what men han red: 400
A leud boster, and that God forbed.^{††}

*Nedely: Necessarily, it cannot be, but such falsehood must speed ill.

[†]The Pope and he were: If the pope were *Peters* heire, yet me thinks hee erres in this point, that when Bishopricks are voyde, and Bishops to be chosen, where it is doubtfull who shall speed, he will yeeld vpon some great mans letter: without any further respect to the place or partie.

[†]Though he cannot: Either the latter part of the sentence is left out, as if he would not for shame vtter it, though he knew no more what belongs to a Bishops office, then they, or else the meaning is, Though hee know nothing belonging to the office of a Bishop.

[§]Wild of will: A riotous lewd fellow, that hath no sway of himselfe.

**Not vnderstanding: Not being able to vnderstand what was read at his consecrating, enstalling, and election.

^{††}That God forbed: As if he would not name some speciall faults of his.

As good a bishop is my horse ball:
Such a Pope is foule bested,*
And at last he woll foule fall.

.45.

He maketh bishops for earthly thanke, 405
And nothing at all for Christs sake:
Such that been[†] full fat and ranke,⁴⁶
To soule heale none heed they take.
All is wel done[‡] what euer they make,
They shal answere at ones for all, 410
For worlds thanke[§] such worch and wake.
And all such false shall foule fal.

.46.

Such that cannot say her Crede,**
With praier shull be made prelates,
Nother can the Gospell rede,^{††} 415
Such shull now weld high estates.
The high Goods friendship hem makes:

*Foule bested: is at a bad passe for fitnessse to gouverne.

[†]Such that ben: Such as are well fedde, and pampred, little care for mens soules.

[‡]All is wel done: Whatsoeuer they doe is well done, but they shall answer one day for all.

[§]For worlds thanke: Such men worke, and watch for worldly reward and praise.

**Such as know not their Creede: Shall be made prelats at mens entreatie.

^{††}Nother can the Gospell rede: Such as cannot read the gospell, shall gouverne in high places.

They toteth on^{*} her summe totall,[†]
 Such bere the keyes of hell yates,
 And such falce shal foule fall. 420

.47.

They forsake for Christs loue
 Trauaile, hunger, thirst, and cold,
 For they ben ordred[‡] ouer all aboue
 Out of youth till they ben old.
 By the dore they goe not into the fold,⁴⁷ 425
 To helpe their sheepe they nought trauall,
 Hired men[§] all such I hold,⁴⁸
 And all such false foule hem fall.

.48.

For Christ her king^{**} they woll forsake,
 And know him nought for his pouerte: 430
 For Christs loue they wol wake,

*They toteth on her summe totall: Their great riches get them friends.

†Their summe totall: Their large gifts, is the thing that is lookt after.

‡For they ben ordred: For they are otherwise brought vp, from their childhood, then to suffer, trauaile, hunger, thirst, and colde, for Christs sake.

§Hyred men: I count all such hirelings. *Ioa.* 10.1. [John 10:1, 12-13. 1. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. 12. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. 13. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.]

**For Christ her King: They will forsake Christ their King, and not know him, because of his pouertie.

And drinke piement and ale^{*} aparte.[†]
 Of God they seeme nothing aferd,
 As lusty liueth, as did Lamual,[‡]
 And driuen her sheepe into desert. 435
 All such faitours shul foule fal.

.49.

Christ[§] had xii. Apostles here,
 Now say they, there may be but one,
 That may not erre in no manere,
 Who leueth not^{**} this ben lost ech one,⁴⁹ 440
Peter erred, so did not *Iohn*:
 Why is he cleped^{††} the principall?
 Christ cleped him^{‡‡} *Peter*, but himself the stone.⁵⁰
 All false faitours foule hem fall.

*Pyement & ale: Ale made of Wine and Hony sweete drinke.

†Aperte: either for apert, openly, or else by themselues, when they are out of the sight of people, apart.

‡Lamual: Was one of the Knights of King *Arthurs* round table.

§Christ, had xii. Apostles, why shold *Peters* successour, be thought free from error, more then the other Apostles successors, since they themselues were as free from erring as *Peter* was?

**Who leueth not: Who so beleeueth not, that the Pope cannot erre, is cast away, be he what he will.

††Why is he cleped: Why should *Peter* be called the Prince of the Apostles, whereas he erred, and *Iohn* did not?

‡‡Christ cleped him: What though Christ called him *Peter*? he called himselfe the Stone or Rock: he was *Peter*, that is *Stone*, as all true Christians are liuing stones in Gods building, euery one in his place, and measure: but the corner stone, maine foundation, and Rock, is Christ onely.

.50.

Why cursen they* the croisery 445
 Christs christen creatures?
 For betweene hem[†] is now enuy,
 To be enhaunsed in honours.
 And Christen liuers[‡] with her labours,
 For they leuin on no man mortal, 450
 Been do to death with dishonours.
 And allsuch false foule hem fal.

.51.

What knoweth[§] a tillour at the plow,
 The Popes name, and what he hate?
 His crede suffiseth to him inow, 455
 And knoweth a Cardinall by his hatte.
 Thus is the poore** vnrightly latte,
 That knoweth Christ his God royal,
 Such matters be not worth a gnatte,
 But such false faitours foule hem fal. 460

*Why cursen they: Why do they accurse them, for whom Christ dyed on the crosse.

[†]Betwene hem: Betwixt the Popes: two being chosen: or among the Cardinals, there is enuie, euery man desiring to bee aduanced to honour.

[‡]And christen liuers: men that liue a Christian life, both they and their workes or bookes, are done to death, destroyed with dishonor, because they will not beleue in a mortall man, because they will not rest vpon the Pope, as one that cannot erre.

[§]What knoweth: what knowes a ploughman, what the pope: *hate*, *hight*, is called?

**Thus is the poore: The poore are led out of the right way or Rough is the poore, that is the poore are counted rude, and said to be misled, though they indeed acknowledge Christ to be their Soueraigne God. See *Par.2, Stat.3, Annot.5*. [Footnote Page 162,line 499].

.52.

A King shall kneele and kisse his show:•
Christ suffered a sinfull[†] to kisse his feete.⁵¹
Me thinketh he holdeth him high ynow,
So Lucifer did, that high set.[‡]
Such one me thinketh himselfe[§] foryet,
Either to trouth he was not call,
Christ that suffered wounds wete,
Shal make such falshed foule fall.

465

.53.

They layeth out• her large nettes
For to take siluer and gold:
Fillen coffers, and sakes fettes,^{††}
There as they^{‡‡} soules catch shold.
Her seruants be to them vnhold,^{§§}
But they can doublen their rentall

470

*Showe: shoe.

[†]Sinfull: Sinner.

[‡]That high set: That sat on high.

[§]Such one himselfe: Such an one, mee thinkes forgets hims[e]lfe, or else hee was neuer called to the knowledge of the truth.

••Layeth out: They laye out or spred abroad.

^{††}Sakes fettes: perhaps Sacks and Fettes, that is Fattes Dry fattes, & other such vessels.

^{‡‡}There as they: Where as they should catch soules.

^{§§}Her seruants, be vnhold: Their seruants are little beholden to them, or get little by them, are little esteemed; vnlesse they can find meanes to double their Lords Reuenues, that they may buy them Castles and holdes.

To bigge hem castles, and bigge hem hold.
And all such false foule hem fall.

475

*Here endeth the first part of this tale,
and hereafter followeth the second.*

[Part II]

.1.

To accorde* with this worde fall,
No more English can I finde:
Shewe another now I shall,
For I haue much to say behinde: 480
How Priests han[†] the people pinde,
As curteis[‡] Christ hath me kende,
And put this matter in my minde:
To make these manner men amend.

.2.

Shortly to shend[§] hem, and shew now 485
How wrongfully they werch and walke?
O hye God,** nothing they tell, ne how,^{††}
But in Gods word tilleth many a balke:^{‡‡}

*To accord: To agree in rime.

[†]Han: Haue pin'd, starued the people, not giuing the[m] spirituall food.

[‡]As curteis: As Christ, who is meeke, and louing, hath taught me:
Kende: made me know.

[§]Shortly to shend: To take them vp shorte, to reprove them sharply.

**O hye God: I thinke it should be, *of high God*: They tell nothing, they make no account of God on high, or they preach nothing of God, but the former sense is the better.

^{††}Ne how: Neither care they how he thinke of their doings.

^{‡‡}Tilleth many a balke: A balke is a greene slip or peece of ground, to deuide lands in the fields: the meaning is, they breake vp the limittes and bounds that God hath set in his word to keepe them in.

In hernes hold hem and in halke,*
 And preachen[†] of tithes and offrend, 490
 And vntruly of the Gospel talke.
 For his mercy God it amend.

.3.

What is Antichrist[‡] to say?
 But euen Christs aduersarie:
 Such hath now[§] ben many a day, 495
 To Christs bidding full contrarie,
 That from the truth** cleane varry,
 Out of the way^{††} they ben wend,
 And Christs people vntruly carry.^{‡‡}
 God for his pitie it amend, 500

*Hernes and halke: Corners and valleys: They keepe themselues in places farre off from their flocks.

[†]And prechen: And preachen of tithes and offrings: they doe not instruct the people in the word of God; but all their preaching is to make the people pay their tithes, and bring in offrings.

[‡]What is Antichrist: What is the significatio[n] of Antichrist, but Christs aduersary? one that is an enemy to Christ, against Christ, it may also be expounded, instead of Christ, as the Pope calles himselfe Christs Vicar, making a shew as if he were appointed to rule the church in Christs stead.

[§]Such hath now: There haue bin such now a long time, that behaue themselues contrary to Christs commandements.

**That from the truth: That goe astray from the truth.

^{††}Out of the way: They are gone out of the way.

^{‡‡}Vntruly carry: they mislead Christs people. *Latt*: Led out of the right way. *Part.1, Stat.51. Annot.2.* [Footnote Page 158, line 457].

.4.

They liuen* contrary to Christs life,
 In high pride[†] against meekenesse,
 Against suffraunce[‡] they vsen strife,
 And anger ayenst sobernesse,[§]
 Against wisdom^{**} wilfulnesse:
 To Christs tales^{††} little tend,
 Against measure^{‡‡} outrageousnesse.
 But when God wol it may amend.

505

*They liuen: Now he shewes in particular, that they are contrary to Christ.

[†]In high pride: whereas Christ was lowly and meeke, they are proud and haughty.

[‡]Against sufferance: he was patient and would beare any wrong, they are contentious.

[§]Sobernesse: Sobernesse, [i]s contrary to hastinesse in this place, meeknes we call it.

^{**}Against wisdom: Christ carried himselfe alwayes with discretion, reason, and temperatnesse, these men runne wholly vpon their wilfull headinesse.

^{††}To Christs tales: They little regarde Christs speech and counsaile.

^{‡‡}Against measure: Christ was moderate in his whole carriage, they are outrageous in all their behaiour, yea euen to breake out into treason and blaspheming, one pope throwes *Peters* Keyes into the water, because he could not by them preuaile, as he would haue done, against the King of *France*: another casts his breaden God into the fire, because it would not answer him as an Oracle: a third will haue his peacock, a meate forbidden to him by his physitions, in despight of God.

.5.

Lordly life^{*} ayenst lowlinesse,
 And demen all[†] without mercie, 510
 And couetise ayenst largesse,[‡]
 Against treweth trecherie:
 And against almesse[§] enuie,
 Against Christ they comprehend,^{**}
 For chastitie they maintaine lecherie, 515
 God for his grace this amend.

.6.

Against penaunce^{††} they vse delights,
 Against suffraunce^{‡‡} strong defence,
 Ayenst God^{§§} they vsen euil rights,
 Ayenst pitie punishments: 520

*Lordly life: Our Sauour Christ liued in poore and meane estate: they liue like Lords.

†Demen all: Iudge all men: or altogether without mercy.

‡Ayenst largesse: Christ was bountifull; they couetous: *couetise*, couetousnesse: *largesse*, bountifulnesse.

§Against almesse: They enuie them, that haue any thing giuen to them; because they would haue all for themselues: each sect of Friars, from others, and all from the secular Priests, & the priests all from them; as it hath bin apparant betwixt our priests and Iesuites.

**Comprehend: They take counsell against Christ.

††Ayenst penance: Whereas Christ would haue men to sorrow for their sinnes, they wallow in delights, penance of *penetentia*, repentance.

‡‡Suffrance: they will defend themselues, by force, rather then they will suffer.

§§Ayenst God: They will vse euill customes against God:

Open euill• ayenst continence,
 Her wicked winning† they worse dispend,
 Sobernesse they sette‡ into dispenche.
 But God for his goodnesse it amend.

.7.

Why cleimen§ they wholly his powere,⁵² 525
 And wranglen ayenst all his hests?
 His liuing** follow they nothing here,
 But liuen worse than witlesse beests.
 Of fish and flesh they louen feests,
 As lords they ben brode ykende,†† 530
 Of Gods poore‡‡ they haten gests,
 God for his mercy this amend.

*Open euill: manifest uillanies, instead of continencie.

†Her wicked winning: That which is ill got, they spend worse.

‡Sobernesse they set: They dispenche with sobernesse, taking libertie to riot.

§Why cleimen they: Why do they wholly claime christs power or authoritie, and yet wrangle against all his commandements?

**His liuing: They doe not follow his course of life at all, in this world, but liue worse then vnreasonable creatures, beasts without vnderstanding.

††Brode ykend: They are knowne all abroad, as if they were Lords.

‡‡Of Gods poore: They hate to haue any of Gods poore people for their guests: or they hate the gests, *gesta*, the doings of Gods poore people: I like the former better.

.8.

With Diues* such shal haue her dome,
 That saine that they be Christes friends,
 And do nothing as they should done: 535
 All such been falsen than ben fiends.
 On the people[†] they ley such bends,
 As God is in earth[‡] they han offend,
 Succour fro such[§] Christ now send vs.
 And for his mercy this amend. 540

.9.

A token of Antichrist they be,
 His careckes** ben now wide iknow.
 Receiued to preach shal no man be
 Without token of him I trow.
 Ech christen^{††} priest to preachen owe, 545
 From God aboue they ben send,
 Gods word to all folke for to show.
 Sinfull man for to amend.

.10.

Christ sent the poore for to preach,

*With Diues: Such shall haue their iudgment with the rich man in the Gospell. *Dives* in Latin signifies a rich man; it was not the proper name of any particular man, of whom that Parable should be made. in the Greek *πλοῦτος*, a rich man.

[†]On the people: They lay heauie burdens, or bonds on the people.

[‡]As God is in earth: They haue done what they list, as Gods on earth.

[§]Succour fro such: It should be either, from such God send vs succour: or defend vs, because of such, send's it must be for the rime.

**His careckes: His Characters or markes, be knowne now euery where.

^{††}Eche christen: Euery Christian priest ought to preach, as being sent from God.

The royall rich he did not so: 550
Now dare no poore the people teach,
For Antichrist⁵³ is ouer all• her foe:
Among the people[†] he mote go,
He hath[‡] bidden all such suspend,
Some hath[§] he hent, and thinketh yet mo, 555
But all this God may wel amend.

.11.

All they that• han the world forsake,
And liuen lowly, as God bad,
Into her prison shullen be take,
Beten and bounden, and forth lad. 560
Hereof I rede^{††} no man be drad,
Christ said, his should be shend:
Ech man ought hereof be glad,
For God full well it woll amend.

.12.

They take on hem royall powere, 565

*Ouer all: In all places: or, aboue all chiefly their foe.

† Among the people: if he be a poore man, hee must bee accounted as a lay man; goe among the people, not among the Clergie.

‡ He hath: The Pope hath commanded to suspend all such poore men.

§ Some hath: He hath layed hold on some, and thinkes to catch more of them.

**All they that han: All those that haue forsaken the world, and liue lowlie as God commanded, shall be put into their prison, beaten, and bound, and carried away.

†† I rede: I aduise men not to be afraide of this, for Christ hath told vs, that his followers shall be shent, blamed and punisht.

And say they haue swerds two,*
 One curse to hell, one slee men here.⁵⁴
 For at his taking Christ had no mo.
 Yet *Peter* had[†] one of tho,
 But Christ, to *Peter* smite gan defend, 570
 And into the sheath bad put it tho.⁵⁵
 And all such mischeues God amend.

.13.

Christ bad *Peter* keepe his sheepe,⁵⁶
 And with his sword forbade him smite.⁵⁷
 Swerd[‡] is no toole with sheepe to keepe, 575
 But to shepheards that sheepe wol bite:
 Me thinketh such shepheards ben to wite,[§]
 Ayen her sheepe with swerd that contend,
 They driue^{**} her sheepe with great despite.
 But all this God may well amend.⁵⁸ 580

.14.

So successours to *Peter* be they nought,
 Whom Christ made cheefe pastoure,

*Swerds two: They say, they haue two swords, with the one whereof, they curse men to hell, with the other they murder men here: the former is the spirituall sword: the other is the temporall.

[†]Yet Peter had: perhaps there wants (*but*) yet *Peter* had but one of those two swords: and Christ forbad him to smite with it, and bad him euen then when it seemed there was neede to fight, put it vp into his scaberd.

[‡]Swerd: Sword is no toole to keepe sheep with.

[§]Ben to wite: are to blame, that is, worthy to be blamed.

^{**}They driue: They driue their sheepe with great anger, they rule them churlishly.

A swerd no shepheard* vsen ought,
But he would flea, as a butchoure.
For who so were *Peters* successoure, 585
Should bere his sheepe till his backe bend,
And shaddow hem from euery shoure.
And all this God may well amend.

.15.

Successours to *Peter* ben these
In that, that *Peter* Christ forsooke, 590
That had leuer the loue of God lese,
Than a shepheard had to lese his hooke:
He culleth the sheepe[†] as doth the Cooke
Of hem seeken the wooll to rend,
And falsely glose[‡] the Gospell booke. 595
God for his mercy them amend.

.16.

After Christ had take *Peter*[§] the Kay,
Christ said, he must die for man:
That *Peter* to Christ gan withsay,**
Christ bad him go behind Sathan:⁵⁹ 600
Such counsailours many of these men han,

*A swerd no shepheard: No shepheard should vse a sword, vnlesse hee would kil the sheep, as a Butcher does.

[†]He culleth the sheepe: Hee takes holde, and imbraces the sheepe, as the Cookes does, to cut him in peeces: to rend the wooll of his back, when hee hath taken him.

[‡]Falsely glose: Falsely expound the Gospell:

[§]Had take Peter: After Christ had giuen *Peter* the Key.

**Gan with say: In that matter *Peter* began to gainsay or withstand Christ.

For worlds wele,* God to offend
Peters successours they ben for than.[†]
 But all such God may wel amend.

.17.

For Sathan is to say[‡] no more, 605
 But he that contrary to Christ is,
 In this they learne *Peters* lore,[§]
 They sewen him when he did misse.
 They follow *Peter* forsooth in this,
 In al that^{**} Christ would *Peter* reprehend, 610
 But not in that, that longeth to heuen blisse.
 God for his mercy hem amend.

.18.

Some of the Apostles they sewen in case,^{††}
 Of ought that I can vnderstond,
 Him that betrayed Christ, *Iudas*,⁶⁰ 615
 That bare the purse in euery lond:

*For worlds wele: many of these men haue such counsellors, who will perswade them to sinne against God, for worldly commoditie.

[†]For then: Then are they *Peters* successours, or for that, in that matter.

[‡]Satan is to say: Satan signifies no more but Christs aduersary, namely such an aduersary, as hates Christ: The word signifieth simply: a Hater or enemy.

[§]Lore: Lesson, in this they learne of *Peter*, that they follow him in that wherein he did amisse.

^{**}In all that: They follow him wholly in all that Christ would reprehend him for: but in nothing that belongs to heavenly blessednesse.

^{††}They sewen in case: They follow some of the Apostles indeed, namely as farre as I am able to conceiue, *Iudas* that betraied Christ.

And all that he might set on hond,*
He hidde and stale, and mispend,
His rule these traitors han in hond,[†]
Almightie God hem all amend. 620

.19.

And at last his lord gan tray,[‡]
Cursedly through his false couetise:
So would these traieren him[§] for money,
And they wisten in what wise.
They be seker** of the selfe ensise, 625
From all soothnesse^{††} they ben frend,
And couetise changen^{‡‡} with queintise.
Almighty God all such amend.

*Might set on hond: All that euer hee could lay hand on, he hid[,] stole and mispent.

[†]Han in hond: These Traytors, haue his rule in their hand, follow his course.

[‡]Gan tray: At last he came to betray his Lord, thorough his couetousnesse.

[§]Trayen him: so would these men betray him for money, if they knew how to do it.

**They be seker: They are surely of the very same assize, size, or measure, they are right of the same stampe.

^{††} From all soothnesse: They are strange, from all truth and plaine dealing: *frend*, strange.

^{‡‡}Couetise changen: And colour their couetousnesse with deuises, making it seeme other then it is.

.20.

Were Christ on earth here· eftsoone,⁶¹
 These would damne him to die: 630
 All his hestes[†] they han fordone,
 And saine his sawes ben heresie:
 And ayenst his commandements they crie,
 And damne all his[‡] to be brend,⁶²
 For it liketh not hem such losengerie, 635
 God almighty hem amend.

.21.

These han more might in England here,
 Than hath the King and all his lawe:
 They han purchased hem such powere,
 To taken hem whom list not knawe:[§] 640
 And say that heresie is her sawe.
 And so to prison wol hem sende,
 It was not so by elder dawe.**
 God for his mercy it amend.

*Were Christ here: if Christ were here againe vpon earth, these men would condemne him to death.

[†]All his hests: They haue broken and destroyed all his commandements, and say that his sawes, sayings, doctrines, are heresie.

[‡]And damne all his: They condemne all true beleeuers in him, to be burnt because such flattery as men vse, when they magnifie these false teachers, does not like these poore Christians: or because they like not such deceits and errors, as they call the doctrine of the poore men. *Losengery*, deceit, flattery.

[§]Whom list not know: To take or apprehend them, whom they list not to approue or like of, and they condemne their doctrine for heresie.

**By elder daw: in former dayes or times.

.22.

The Kings law wol no man deme,* 645
 Angerliche without answere:
 But if any man these misqueme,†
 He shall be baighted as a bere:
 And yet well worse‡ they wol him tere,
 And in prison woll him pend,§ 650
 In giues, and in other gere.
 When God woll, it may amend.

.23.

The King taxeth** not his men,
 But by assent of the comminalte:
 But these ech yeare woll raunsome hem†† 655
 Maisterfully, more than doth he.
 Her seales‡‡ by yeare better be,
 Than is the Kings in extend,
 Her officers han greater fee.
 But this mischief God amend. 660

*No man deme: The Kings law will condemne no man in anger, before he haue heard him.

†Misqueme: Displease, *to queme* is to please.

‡Well worse: yea they will tear him worse then dogges doe a Beare.

§Him pend: Pen say we now adayes, not pend: they will shut him vp in prison in fetters, and in such other bonds. *Gere*, is any thing put about to attire or holde. [See Footnote Page 126-7, line 22].

**Taxeth: Sesseth by subsidies and fifteenes; *His men*, his subiects.

††Raunsome hem: Set them a summe to pay, as if they were maisters, and the people their slaues to be ransomed.

‡‡Her seales: Their seales in their courts and offices are more beneficial to them, then the Kings seale is to him. *In extend*, at the vttermost extent of it.

.24.

For who so will proue a Testament,
That is not all worth^{*} ten pound,
He shall pay for the parchment
The third of the money all round.

Thus the people is raunsound:[†]

665

They say such part to hem should apend,[‡]

There as they gripen,[§] it goeth to ground.

God for his mercy it amend.

.25.

For a simple fornication

Twenty shillings he shall pay,

670

And then haue an absolution,

And all the yere^{**} vsen it forth he may:

Thus they letten hem^{††} go astray,

They recke not though the soule be brend,

These keepen euill *Peters* Kay.

675

And all such shepheards God amend.

*Not all worth: If any man will proue a Wil, though it be not worth ten pound in all, he shall pay fully the third part of the money for the money and engrossing of it in their courts.

[†]Raunsound: raunsomd, made to pay as it were a ransome of slaues.

[‡]Append: Belong or accrew to them.

[§]There at they gripen: Looke where they lay hold, they carry all away with them.

^{**}All the yere, If he haue paid 20. shillings, and taken out his absolution, he may play the whoremonger all the yeare after.

^{††}They letten hem: They let men runne into sinne, and neuer care though the poore soules burne for it, euerlastingly in hell fire.

.26.

Wonder is, that the parliament
And all the Lords of this lond
Hereto taken so little entent,*
To helpe the people out of her hond: 680
For they ben[†] harder in their bond,
Worse beat, and bitter brend,
Than to the king is vnderstond.
God him helpe this to amend.

.27.

What Bishops,[‡] what religious 685
Han in this land as much lay fee,
Lordships and possessions
More than Lords, it semeth me:
That maketh him lese charite:[§]
They mowe not to God attende, 690
In earth they haue so high degre.
God for his mercy it amend.

*So little entent: It is a wonder that the Parliament so little regards the matter, to deliuer the people out of their clutches.

[†]For they ben: For the poore people, are straightly bound, sorelier beaten, and more cruelly burned, then the King is aware of.

[‡]What Bishops: Bishops and religious houses, haue more temporall possessions, then the Barons of the land haue. This was true of Popish Bishops, Abbeys & Frieries.

[§]Lese charitie. They are so great in the world, that they loose their loue, and cannot attend vpon the seruice of God in their calling.

.28.

The Emperour yafe the Pope* sometime,

So high lordship him about,

That at last the silly kime

695

The proud Pope put him out.

So of this Realme[†] is in dout:But lordes beware, and them defend,[‡]For now these folkes be wonders stout.⁶³The King and Lords now this amend.⁶⁴

700

*Thus endeth the second part of this tale, and
hereafter followeth the third.*

*Yafe the Pope: The Emperor gaue the Pope heretofore so much authoritie ouer him, that poore man, as he was, at the last the proud Pope toke all from him.

[†]So of this Realme: The like may be doubted of this Realme, if the Barons become not more wary, and looke better to the keeping downe of the Clergie.

[‡]Them defend: Forbid, not suffer them to go forward in such courses.

[Part III]

.1.

Moyes lawe⁶⁵ forbode it tho,
That priests should no Lordships[†] welde:
Christis gospell biddeth also,
That they should no Lordships helde.
Ne Christis Apostles were neuer so bold,⁶⁶ 705
No such Lordships to hem embrace,
But smeren her shepe,[‡] and kepe her fold.
God amend hem for his grace.

.2.

For they ne ben[§] but counterfete,⁶⁷
Men may know hem by her fruite,⁶⁸ 710
Her greatnesse maketh hem God foryete,
And take his mekenesse in despite:••
And they wer pore and had but lite,^{††}
They nold nat demen^{‡‡} after the face,⁶⁹
But nourish her shepe, and hem not bite. 715
God amend hem for his grace.

*Tho: then.

[†]No Lordships: The Apostles were not so bold, as to take any such
gouernment vpon them.

[‡]But smeren her shepe: But to dresse and annoint their sheepe, when
they were sore.

[§]Ne ben: They are but counterfeit shepheards.

••In despite: To thinke scorne of our Sauours meane estate.

^{††}Lite: Litle.

^{‡‡}Nold nat demen: They would not iudge according to the outward estate
of men, with partialitie and accepting of persons.

.3.

Griffon.

What canst thou preach ayenst Chanons,
That men clepen seculere?*

Peli[can].

They ben curates of many tounes,
On earth they haue great powere: 720
They hane gret prebends and dere,
Some two or three, and some mo,
A personage to ben a playing fere,[†]
And yet they serue the King also.

.4.

And let to ferme[‡] all that fare, 725
To whom that woll most giue therefore,
Some woll spend, and some woll spare,
And some woll lay it vp in store.
A cure of soule[§] they care not fore,
So that they mowe much money take, 730

*Seculere: All orders of the popish Clergie, are eyther regular, which liue by profession, seuered from the ordinary course of the world after a certaine rule, that their founder hath appointed, or secular which liue without any such restraint, *in seculo*, in the world, as other men commonly doe, the difference of calling excepted.

[†]To ben a playing fere: Either he speakes in a iesting manner, as if they had their parsonages but for sport, not as a charge, or else he meanes, that their parsonages are bestowed on them, that they may be idle companions in hawking and hunting, and serue as iesters to make their patrons merry. *Fere*, companion.

[‡]Let to ferme: Besides all this (saies the Ploughman) they become Chapleins to the King, & attend at the court, and ferme out those benefices and parsonages to him that will giue most for them.

[§]A cure of soule: They care not for the charge of soules, they haue vndertaken, so they may get money.

Whether her soules be wonne or lore.*
Her profites they woll not forsake.

.5.

They haue a gadering procuratour,[†]
That can the poore people emplede,⁷⁰
And robben hem as[‡] a rauinour, 735
And to his Lorde the money lede,
And catch of quick[§] and eke of dede,
And richen him,^{**} and his Lord eke
And to robbe can giue good rede,^{††}
Of olde and young, of hole and sicke. 740

.6.

Therewith they purchase^{‡‡} hem lay fee
In londe, there hem liketh best,
And builde also brode as a cite,
Both in the East, and eke in the West:

*Wonne or lore: Saued or lost.

[†]Gadering procurator: a Proctor or Farmer to gather their tithes and duties, that can get out processe and sue the poore people.

[‡]And robben hem as: And rob them, like a rauening carmorant, & carry the money to his Lord or maister.

[§]Catch of quick: Get a fleece both of dead and liuing: by mortuaries & such like.

^{**}Richen hem: Enrich himselfe and his Lord.

^{††}Giue good rede: Can giue craftie counsaile to rob the poore, whatsoeuer they be.

^{‡‡}Therewith they purchase: With money thus gotten, they buy lands and leases, where they best like, and build great houses like Citties.

To purchase thus they ben full prest,* 745
 But on the poore they woll nought spend
 Ne no good[†] giue to Gods gest,
 Ne send him some that all hath send.

.7.

By her seruice[‡] such woll liue,
 And trusse that other[§] into treasure: 750
 Though all her parish die vnshriue,
 They woll not giue a Rose floure.
 Her life should be as a mirour,**
 Both to lered and to leude also,
 And teache the people her lele labour,^{††} 755
 Such mister men^{‡‡} been all misgo.⁷¹

.8.

Some of them been hard niggas,^{§§}
 And some of hem ben proud and gaie,

*Prest, Redy.

[†]Ne no good: They will giue nothing to the poore which are Gods guests.

[‡]By her seruice: Such men will liue vpon their seruice at the court, or in Noblemens houses.

[§]And trusse that other: And lay vp all the rest of their commings in.

^{**}As a mirour, Their life should be as a looking-glasse, to learned and vnlearned.

^{††}Her lele labour: Their true labour, they should teach the people how to liue faithfully and painfully in their seuerall callings.

^{‡‡}Such mister men: Such kinde of men are wholly out of the right way.

^{§§}Hard niggas: Some of them are miserable niggards: some proud and costly.

Some spend their goods vpon gigges,*
 And finden hem of great araie: 760
 Alas, what thinke these men to saie,
 That thus dispenden Gods good,
 At the dreadfull domes day
 Soche wrechis shull be worse than wood.

.9.

Some her churches neuer ne sie,[†] 765
 Ne neuer o pennie, thider ne send,
 Though the poore parishens for hunger die,
 O pennie on hem woll they not spend:
 Haue they[‡] receiuing of the rent,
 They recke neuer of the remenaunt, 770
 Alas, the deuill hath cleane hem blent.[§]
 Soche one** is Sathanas sojournaunt.

.10.

And vsen horedome and harlottrie,
 Couetise, pompe, and pride.
 Slothe, wrath, and eke enuie, 775
 And sewen sinne^{††} by euery side.
 Alas, where thinke such tabide:

*Gigges: Harlots and maintain them gallantly.

[†]Neuer ne sye: Some neuer see their Churches, whereof they are parsons, nor send one penny thether for releefe of the poore parishioners.

[‡]Haue they: So they may haue the tithes and commodities, they neuer care, what become of the people, either for their soules or bodies.

[§]Blent: blinded.

**Soche one: Such men, are Satans guests, or sojournours and dwellers with Satan, his iourneymen or seruants.

^{††}Sewen sinne: Follow sinne by all meanes.

How wooll they accompts yelde,
 From high God they mowe hem· not hide.
 Soche willers witte[†] is not worth a nelde. 780

.11.

They ben so rooted in riches, ⁷²
 That Christes pouert⁷³ is foryet.[‡]
 Serued with so many messes,
 Hem thinketh[§] that Manna is no meat.
 All is good that they mowen geat, 785
 They wene to liue euermore,
 But when God at dome is seat,^{**}
 Soch treasour is a feble store.

.12.

Vnneth^{††} mote they Matins saie
 For counting and courtholding: 790
 And yet he iangleth as a Iaie,
 And vnderstont himselfe nothing.
 He woll serue both Erle and King,
 For his finding and his fee,^{‡‡}
 And hide his tithing and his offering, 795
 This is a feeble charite.

*Mowe hem, not hide; They may not hide themselues from God on high.

[†]Soche willers witte: The witte of such wilfull or wily men, is not worth a needle.

[‡]Pouert is forget: Christs pouertie is forgotten.

[§]Hem thinketh: They thinke *Manna* no meate: the word of God.

^{**}At dome is set, When God shall sit in iudgement.

^{††}Vnneth: *eth*, is easie: hardly haue they leasure to say mattins.

^{‡‡}For his finding and his fee: For meat and drinke, and wages, and lay vp his tithes and offrings.

.13.

Other they been proude, or couetous,⁷⁴
 Or they been hard, or hungrie:
 Or they ben liberall, or lecherous,
 Or els medlers with marchandry:* 800
 Or maintainers of men with mastry,[†]
 Or stewards, countours, or pleadours,
 And serve God in Ypocrisie:
 Such Priests been Christs false traitours.

.14.

They been false, they been vengeable,[‡] 805
 And begilen men in Christs name:[§]
 They been vnstedfast and vnstable,
 To traie her Lord, hem thinketh no shame,
 To serue God, they been full lame,
 Gods theeues,** and falsely steale, 810
 And falsely Gods word defame:
 In winning^{††} is her worlds weale.

.15.

Antichrist these serue all,
 I pray thee who may say nay?
 With Antichrist such shull fall, 815
 They followen him in deed and faie:^{‡‡}

*Medlers with marchandry: Dealers in marchandize.

[†]With maistry: Vpholders of men to doe wrong by their power.

[‡]Vengeable: Giuen to seeke reuenge.

[§]In Christs name: vnder shew of religion.

**Gods theeues: Theeues vnder prete[n]ce of seruing God.

^{††}In winning: their felicitie is in getting worldly wealth.

^{‡‡}In deed & say, In their workes and faith, or they follow him precisely.

They seruen him in rich array,
 To serue Christ such falsely fain,*
 Why, at the dreadfull domes day
 Shul they not followe him to pain? 820

.16.

That knowen hem selfe that they doen ill,
 Ayenst Christs commaundement,
 And amend hem neuer ne will,
 But serue sathan by one assent:
 Who saieth sothe he shall be shent, 825
 Or speaketh ayenst her false liuing:
 Who so well liueth shall be brent,
 For soche been greater than the king.

.17.

Popes, Bishops, and Cardinals,
 Chanons, Parsons, and Vicare 830
 In Gods seruice I trowe been fals,
 That Sacraments sellen here:
 And been as proude as Lucifere,
 Eche man looke whether that I lie,
 Who so speaketh ayenst her powere,⁷⁵ 835
 It shall be holden heresie.

.18.

Looke how many orders take,
 Onely of Christ, for his seruice,
 That the worlds goods forsake:
 Who so taketh orders otherwise: 840
 I trowe that they shall sore agrise,[†]
 For all the glose[‡] that they conne.

*Falsely faine: They make a false shew of following Christ.

†Sore agrise: Shall pay deare for so doing, be sorely punisht.

‡For all the glose, How faire a colour soeuer, they can see on the matter, if they follow not this rule, to take orders for Christs seruice,

All sewen not this assise,
In euill time they thus begonne.

.19.

Looke how many emong hem all, 845
Holden not this hie waie,
With Antichrist they shullen fall:
For they wullen God betraie.
God amend them that best may:
For many men they maken shende,* 850
They weten well[†] the sothe I say.⁷⁶
But the deuill hath foule hem blende.

.20.

Some on her Churches[‡] dwell
Apparailed poorely, proud of port:
The seuen sacraments they doen sell, 855
In cattell catching[§] is her comfort:
Of eche matter** they wollen mell,
To doen hem^{††} wrong is her disport,

they begun in an euill houre.

*Maken shend: They make many men doe amisse.

[†]They weten well: They know the truth well enough, but the diuell hath blinded them.

[‡]Some on Churches: Some of them will dwell vpo[n] their benefices, going in meane apparell, but with proud cariage.

[§]In cattell catching: All their felicitie, is in getting goods.

**Of eche matter: They wi[ill] medle in euery matter that may bring them gaine.

^{††}And doen hem: It is a sport to them to doe men wrong.

To afraie the people: they been fell,
And hold hem lower than doeth the Lord. 860

.21.

For the tithing of a Ducke
Or of an Apple, or an Aie,[†]
They make men swere vpon a boke,
Thus they foulē[‡] Christs faie.
Soche bearen euill[§] heauen kaie: 865
They mowen assoile, they mowe shriue,
With mens wiues strongly** plaie,
With true tillers^{††} sturte and striue,

.22.

At the wrastling, and at the wake.^{‡‡}
And chiefe chantours^{§§} at the nale, 870
Market beaters, and medling make,

*To afraie the people: They are cruell to keepe the people in awe, and hold them in greater subiection, then the Lord of the mannor doth.

[†]An aye: An egge.

[‡]They foulē: They staine and disgrace the faith and religion of Christ.

[§]Bearen euill: Such men are bad keepers of the key of heauen.

**Strongly: Being idle & ful fed, they haue lusty strong bodies, to abuse mens wiues.

^{††}With true tillers: They are able, and wont to scuffle and contend with lusty strong Ploughmen.

^{‡‡}The wake: The towne feast.

^{§§}Chiefe chauntours: They can sing merily. *At the nale*: At the meetings & drinkings of Ale: wakes, and Ales, are knowne.

Hoppen and houten* with heue and hale:
 At fair fresh,[†] and at wine stale:
 Dine and drinke, and make debate:
 The seuen sacraments set at saile, 875
 How kepe soche the kaies of heauen gate?

.23.

Mens wiues[‡] they wollen hold,⁷⁷
 And though that they be right sorie,
 To speake they shull not been so bold,
 For sompning to the Consistorie: 880
 And make hem saie mouth I lie,
 Though they it sawe with her eye,
 His lemman holden it openly,
 No man so hardy to aske why.

.24.

He woll haue tithing and offring, 885
 Maugre[§] whosoeuer it grutch:
 And twise on the day he woll sing,
 Gods priests nere none soche.
 He mote on hunting** with dogge and bich,
 And blowen his horne, and crien hey, 890
 And sorcerie vsen as a Witch.
 Such kepen euill *Peters* key.

*Hoppen, and houten: leaping, and showting, haling and pulling.

[†]At faire fresh: I thinke it should be flesh, at good meate, and stale drinke.

[‡]Mens wiues: They will keepe mens wiues, and though their husbands be neuer so much griued at it, yet they shall not dare to speake of it, for feare of being summoned.

[§]Maugre: malgre, in spite of any that shall grutch it them.

**He mote on hunting: Hee must hunt with dogge & bitch.

.25.

Yet they mote haue some stock or stone,⁷⁸
 Gaily painted, and proudly dight,
 To maken men leuen vpon, 895
 And say that it is full of might:
 About such men[†] set vp great light,
 Other soche stockes shall stand thereby,
 As darke as it were midnight,
 For it may make no mastrie. 900

.26.

That it leud people see mow,
 Thou Mary,[‡] thou worchest wonder things:
 About that, that men offren to now,
 Hongen broches, ouches, and rings.
 The priest purchaseth the offerings,⁷⁹ 905
 But he nill offer to none Image:
 Woe is the soule[§] that he for sings,
 That preacheth for soche a pilgrimage.

*To maken men leuen: They must haue some idoll, to make men beleue on, that is to trust to, for spirituall & corporall helpe & safetie; and tell them that it is full of power, able to doe them any good, they shall desire.

[†]About such men: men set vp goodly lights, burning Tapers, before such mamets and puppits, whereas other stocks, idols of the same kinde, shall stand by in a corner as darke as midnight, because forsooth it skils not whether people see them or no.

[‡]Thou Mary: it is the Virgin *Mary*, that workes wonders, about her they hang Brooches, Iewels, Rings, all which come to the Priests share, but he wil offer nothing himselfe.

[§]Woe is the soule: Wretched, and in a miserable case is the soule, that such a priest sings masses, diriges, or trentalls for, who cares for nothing, but the offrings of the pilgrims.

.27.

To men and women that ben poore,
 That been Christes awne likenesse 910
 Men shullen offer at her doore,
 That suffre hunger and distresse:
 And to soche Images offer lesse,
 That mow not feele thurst ne cold,
 The poore in spirit* gan Christ blesse.⁸⁰ 915
 Therefore offreth to feeble and old.

.28.

Bucklers brode, and swearde long
 Baudrike, with baselardes[†] kene,
 Soche toles around her necke they hong:
 With Antichrist soche priests been. 920
 Vpon her deeds[‡] it is well seen
 Whom they seruen, whom they honouren,
 Antichrists they been clene,[§]
 And Gods goods falsely deuouren.

.29.

Of scarlet and greene gaie gounes, 925
 That mote bee shape** of the newe:
 To clippen and kissen they counten in tounes,^{††}

*The poore in spirit: Christ blessed them, that were poore in spirit.

[†]Baudrick with baselards: A sword, girdle, and hangers, with sharpe daggers.

[‡]Vpon her deeds: It is well scene by their doings, whom they serue.

[§]Clene, Wholy, vtterly: They are Antichrists seruants and consume the maintenance which is appoynted for Gods seruice, like *Bells* priests.

**Mote be shape: That must bee cut after the new fashio[n].

^{††}Counten in tounes: They make accompt to kisse, & embrace the wenches that come to the dauncings in the townes neere about them.

The damosels that to the daunce sewe.
 Cutted clothes* to shew her hewe,
 With long pikes† on her shone, 930
 Our Gods Gospell‡ is not true,
 Either they seruen the deuill or none.

.30.

Now been Priests pokes§ so wide,
 That men must enlarge the vestiment:¶
 The holy Gospell they doen hide, 935
 For they contrarien in raiment.**
 Soche priests of Lucifer been sent,
 Like conquerours they been araied,
 The proude pendaunts†† at her ars is ipent.
 Falsely the trueth they han betraied. 940

.31.

Shrift siluer such wollen aske's‡‡

*Cutted clothes: They will haue their clothes short to shew their propernesse.

†Long pykes: Shooes with long sharpe tops, turning vp pikedly.

‡Our Gods gospell: The Gospell of God is not true, or else these men serue the diuell or no body.

§Priests pokes: Their cassockes and gownes are so bigge and wide, that parishoners must make their massing garments larger then ordinary.

**They contrarien in raiment: In their attire they doe contrary the gospell, which findes fault with the broad phylacteries and hems of the *Pharises* garments.

††The proud pendaunts: Their costly silken whoods, and such like, hang downe to their hammes.

‡‡Aske's: Aske vs.

And woll men crepe to the crouche*
 None of the Sacraments saue askes†
 Without mede‡ shall no man touch:
 On her Bishop§ their warrant vouch, 945
 That is lawe of the decre:
 With mede and money thus they mouch.**
 And this they sain is charite.

.32.

In the middes of her Masse††
 They nill haue no man but for hire: 950
 And full shortly let forth passe,
 Such shull men find in each shire,
 That Parsonages for profit desire,
 To liue in liking‡‡ and in lusts:
 I dare not sain,§§ *Sans ose ie dire*, 955
 That such been Antichrists priests.

*Crouch: crosse.

† Askes: Ashes.

‡ Mede: reward. No man shall touch any of the Sacraments, saue onely holy Ashes, vnlesse he pay well for them.

§ On her Bishop: their doings by their Bishops, who say, that it is so in the decrees.

**Mouch: Take vp all, eate vp all.

†† In the middes of her Masse: They will make commemoration of none in their Masse, but such as pay them well for it, and that but in a word neither.

‡‡ In liking: To liue as they list in pleasures.

§§ I dare not saine: I dare not say, without crauing pardon for my speech, or leaue to say soe: That such are Antichrists Priests.

.33.

Or they yef^{*} the bishops why,
 Or they mote been in his seruice:
 And holden forth her harlotry,
 Such prelates been of feeble emprise.[†] 960
 Of Gods grame[‡] such men agrise,
 For such matters that taken mede:
 How they excuse hem,[§] and in what wise,
 Me thinketh they ought greatly drede.

.34.

They saine that it to no man longeth^{**} 965
 To reprove them though they erre:
 But falsely Gods goods they fongeth,^{††}
 And therewith meintein wo and werre.
 Her deeds should be as bright as sterre,
 Her liuing leud mans light: 970
 They say the Pope may not erre,
 Nedes must that passe mans might.

.35.

Though a priest lie with his le[m]man all night,

*Or they yef: Either they must giue the Bishop *why*, pay him for it, or else they must reteine to him, and then they may continue their lewd life.

[†]Feeble emprise: of litle worth.

[‡]Of Gods grame: Such men are vexed, that God should be angry with them for so doing; or such men shall be punished by Gods anger against them.

[§]How they excuse them: They should be afraide, how they may be able to excuse themselues.

^{**}To no man longeth: It is not for any man to finde fault with them.

^{††}Fongeth: They take Gods goods: the treasure of the Church and poore.

And tellen his fellow,* and he him,
 He goth to Masse anon right, 975
 And saieth he singeth out of sinne:
 His birde[†] abideth him at his Inne,
 And dighteth his diner the meane while,
 He singeth his Masse for he would winne,[‡]
 And so he weneth God begile. 980

.36.

Hem thinketh long till they be met,
 And that they vsen[§] forth all the yere,
 Emong the folke whan he is set,
 He holdeth no man halfe his pere:
 Of the Bishop he hath powere 985
 To soile men, or els they been lore,**
 His absolution may them skere,^{††}
 And wo is the soule that he singeth for.

.37.

[Griffon]

The Griffon began for to threte,
 And saied, of Monkes canst thou ought? 990

[Pellican]

The Pellican said, they been full grete,

*And tellen his fellow: So each of them confesses himselfe to other, and all is well againe.

[†]His bird: His bride or wench stayes at his lodging.

[‡]For hee would winne: Hee sings his masse, to get him some money.

[§]That they usen: This is their custome all the yere long.

**Lore: Lost, cast away, damned.

^{††}Skere: of skare, to make afraid; but the sense will not beare it, for absolution does not fright men, but rather free them from feare: What if we take it for cleare? as if it came of skowring?

And in this world much wo hath wrought,
 Saint *Benet*, that her order brought,
 Ne made hem neuer on such manere,
 I trowe it came neuer in his thought, 995
 That they should vse so great powere.

.38.

That a man should a Monke Lord call,
 Ne serue on knees, as a King:
 He is as proud as a prince in pall,
 In meat, and drinke, and all thing: 1000
 Some wearen mitre and ring,
 With double Worsted well ydight,⁸²
 With royall meat and rich drinke,
 And rideth on a courser as a Knight.

.39.

With hawke and with hounds eke, 1005
 With brooches or ouches on his hood:
 Some say no Masse in all a weeke,
 Of deinties is her most food.
 They haue Lordships* and bondmen:
 This is a royal religion. 1010
 Saint *Benet* made neuer none of hem
 To haue lordship of man ne toun.

.40.

Now they ben queint† and curious,
 With fine cloth clad, and serued cleane:
 Proud, angrie, and enuious, 1015
 Mallice is much‡ that they meane.
 In catching, craftie and couetous,

*With Lordships: Hauing authoritie, & rule ouer Lordships, & bondme[n]: as 3. verses after, To haue Lordship of man ne towne.

†Queint: daintie, and neate.

‡Malice is much: most of their deuises and imaginations are malitious.

Lordly they liuen in great liking,
This liuing is not religious,
According to *Benet* in his liuing. 1020

.41.

They ben clerkes, her courts they ouersee,
Her poore tenaunce* fully they flite:
The higher that a man[†] amerced be,
The gladlier they wooll it write:
This is farre from Christs pouerty, 1025
For all with couetise they endite,
On the poore they haue no pitty,
Ne neuer hem cherish, but euer hem bite.

.42.

And commonly such ben comen
Of poore people, and of hem begete, 1030
That this perfection[‡] han inomen,[§]
Her fathers riden not but on her fete,
And trauailen sore for that they eate,
In pouert liueth yong and old?
Her fathers suffreth drought and weate, 1035
Many hungrie meales, thurst, and cold.

*Her poore tenannt: They fleete, take of the Creame of their poore tenants: that is, they lick the fatte from their tenants beards, taking away the best of their estate.

[†]The higher that a man: the greater fine a man is set at.

[‡]That this perfection: For the most part these men that haue vndertaken this state of perfection, for so the monkish state is counted in popery, are poore mens childre[n].

[§]Inomen, taken of *Nimen* to take, we vse it now for stealing, taking by stealth.

.43.

And all this* these Monkes han forsake,
 For Christs loue and saint *Benete*:
 To pride and ease haue hem take,
 This religion is euill beseate: 1040
 Had they been out of religion,
 They must haue hanged[†] at the plowe,[†]
 Threshing and diking fro toun to toun[‡],
 With sorie meat, and not halfe ynowe.

.44.

Therefore they han this all forsake, 1045
 And taken to riches, pride and ease:
 Full few for God woll Monkes hem make,
 Little is such order for to praise:
 Saint *Benet* ordained it not so,
 But bad hem be churchliche,[‡] 1050
 In churchliche[§] manner liue and go,
 Boistous** in earth, and not lordliche.

.45.

They disclaunder Saint *Benet*,
 Therefore they haue his holy curse:
 Saint *Benet* with hem neuer met, 1055

*All this: Drought, wete, hunger, thirst, cold, the monkes haue forsaken for Christs sake.

[†]Hanged at the Plowe: As it were laggering wearily after the Plough. Plough: enough, as before in the prologue. [See Footnote Page 124, line 3].

[‡]Churchliche: Churchlike, in the last editions of *Chaucer*. [*Chereliche* in earlier editions of the poem.]

[§]Churliche: Churlike, vse rude, and course meate, and apparell. [Text, *churchliche*, must be misprint.]

**Boistous: homely and hard.

But if they thought to robbe his purse.
 I can no more hereof tell,
 But they ben like tho before,*
 And cleane serue the deuill of hell,
 And ben his treasure and his store. 1060

.46.

And all such other counterfaitours,
 Chanons, Canons, and such disguised,
 Ben Gods enemies and traitours,
 His true religion han foule despised.
 Of Freres⁸⁵ I haue told before 1065
 In a making of a Crede,[†]
 And yet I could tell worse and more,
 But men would werien[‡] it to rede.

.47.

As Gods goodnesse[§] no man tell might,
 Write ne speake, ne thinken thought, 1070
 So her falshed, and her vnright,
 May no man tell that euer God wrought.

[Griffon]

The Griffon said, thou canst no good,
 Thou came neuer of no gentle kind,
 Other I trowe thou waxest wood, 1075
 Or els thou hast lost thy mind.

*Tho before: They are like the B.B. and Priests I spake of before.

† A Creede: Some thinke hee means the questions of *Jack-vpland*, or perhaps *Pierce Ploughmans Creede*. For *Chaucer* speakes this in the person of the Pellican, not in his owne person.

‡ Men would werie[n]: Would be wearie.

§ As Gods goodnesse: as no man can vtter or conceiue, how great the goodnesse or vertue of God is, so is it vnpossible for any mortall man, to recount all their falsehood, their vniust and wicked courses.

.48.

Should holy church haue no heede?•
 Who should be her gouernaile?†
 Who should her rule, who should her reede?‡
 Who should her forthren, who should auaile? 1080
 Each man shall liue by his trauaile,
 Who best doeth, shall haue most mede:
 With strength if men the church assaile,
 With strength men must defend her nede.§

.49.

And the Pope were purely poore, 1085
 Needie, and nothing ne had,
 He should be driuen from doore to doore,
 The wicked of him nolde not be drad.
 Of such an head men would be sad,
 And sinfully liuen as hem lust: 1090
 With strength to amend such be made,
 With wepen Wolues from sheepe be wust.**

.50.

If the Pope and Prelates would
 So begge, and bid, bow, and borrow,
 Holy church should stand full cold, 1095
 Her seruants sit and sowe sorrow:
 And they were noughtie†† foule and horow,

*Heed: Head.

†Gouernaile: Gouvernour.

‡Reede: Aduise, direct.

§Her nede: Either, must needs defend her, or must defend her affaires.

**Wust: Wolues are to be driuen or kept from hurting the sheepe with weapons.

†† And they were noughtie: If they were nasty, filthie and sluttish.

To worship God men would wlate;*
Both on euen and on morow
Such harlotrie[†] men would hate. 1100

.51.

Therefore men of holy church,
Should be honest[‡] in all thing,
Worshipfully Gods workes werch.
So seemeth it[§] to serue Christ her king
In honest and in cleane clothing, 1105
With vessels of gold and clothes rich,
To God honestly to make offring:
To his Lordship^{**} none is liche.

.52.

[Pellican]

The Pellican cast an huge crie,^{††}
And said, alas, why sayest thou so: 1110
Christ is our head that sitteth on hie,
Heads he ought^{‡‡} we haue no mo:

*Wlate: Loath.

[†]Such harlotry: Such beggerlinesse.

[‡]Honest: Cleanly, handsome, and neate, as afterward, *in honest and cleane clothing*. [Line 1105.]

[§]So seemeth it: It beseeemes them, or it is seemely so to serue Christ.

^{**}To his Lordship: None is comparable to God, in maiestie, and authoritie, and therefore he is to bee served with all the state and pompe that may be.

^{††}Cast an huge crie: Cryed out mainly.

^{‡‡}Heads ne ought: We ought to haue no more heads but Christ.

We ben his members both* also,
 And father⁸⁶ he taught vs to call him als,[†]
 Maisters to be called defended[‡] he tho: 1115
 All other Maisters ben wicked and fals,

.53.

That taketh maistrie[§] in his name,
 Ghostly, and for yearthly good:
 Kings and lords should lordship haue,
 And rule the people with mild mood. 1120
 Christ for vs that shed his blood
 Bad his priests** no maistership haue,
 Ne carke nor for cloth ne food,
 From euery mischiefe he will hem saue.

.54.

Her rich clothing^{††} shall be rightwisenesse, 1125
 Her treasure true life shall be:
 Charity shall be her richesse,
 Her Lordship shall be vnite:
 Hope in God her honeste,

*Both: All of vs both Clergie and Laity, are his members.

† Als: Also, or perhaps alone.

‡Defended: Forbad vs to be called maisters: namely, as that men should depend vpon any minister, farther than according as he can proue, that he deliuers by Scripture, to be the word of God.

§That taketh maistrie: All, that take such authoritie vpon them, as from him. viz: all that challenge priuiledge not to erre, or depend vpon a man, as if he could not erre, are wicked teachers, and false.

**Bad his Priests: Commaunded his Priests, to take no such authoritie vpon them.

††Her riche clothing: Righteousnesse shall be their rich clothing.

Her vessell^{*} cleane conscience, 1130
Poore in spirit, and humilte,
Shall be holy churches defence.

.55.

[Griffon]

What saied the Griffon, may thee griue,
That other folkes faren wele?
What hast thou to doen with her liue?[†] 1135
The falshed ech man may fele.
For thou canst no cattell gete,[‡]
But liuest in lond as a lorell,⁸⁷
With glosing gettest thou thy mete:
So fareth the deuill that wonneth[§] in hell. 1140

.56.

He would that ech man there should dwell.
For he liueth in cleane enuie,^{**}
So with the tales that thou doest tell,
Thou wouldest other people destrie
With your glose, and your heresie: 1145
For ye can liue^{††} no better life,

^{*}Her uessel: Their plate, and their ornaments of houses, shall be a cleane conscience.

[†]With her liue: What hast thou to doe with their liues.

[‡]No cattell gete: Because thou canst get no goods, but liuest here and there.

[§]Wonneth: Abideth, going vp and downe in hell.

^{**}In cleane enuie: Because he is altogether enuious, nothing but enuie.

^{††}For ye can liue: Because you cannot get any better meanes of liuing.

But cleane in Hypocrisie,
And bringest^{*} thee in woe and strife.

.57.

And therewith[†] haue not to doen,
For ye haue here no cure: 1150
Ye serue the Deuill, neither God ne man,
And he shall pay you your hire.
For ye woll fare well at feastes,
And warme clothed for the cold,
Therefore ye glose Goddes heestes,[‡] 1155
And begile the people young and old.

.58.

And all the seauen Sacraments
Ye speake ayenst, as ye were slie:[§]
Ayenst tithings, offrings, and tents,^{**}
And our Lords body^{††} falsely lie. 1160
And all this ye doen to liue in ease,
As who saith, there been none soche:
And sain the Pope is not worth a pease,
To make the people ayen hem groche.

*And bringest thee: And thou Pelican bringest thy selfe into trouble and misery.

† And therewith: And yet you have nothing to doe with the matters you medle in, because you haue no charge here in the world.

‡ Ye glose Gods hests: yee falsely expound Gods commaundements.

§ As ye were slie: As if you were wise, and all others fooles.

**With your entents: With your vnderstandings and interpretations.

†† And our Lords body: And falsely deny the reall presence that Christ is bodily present.

.59.

And this commeth in by fendes 1165
 To bring the christen in distaunce:
 For they would that no man were frends.
 Leaue thy chattring with mischaunce:
 If thou liue well, what wilt thou more?
 Let other men liue as hem list, 1170
 Spend in good,[†] or keepe in store:
 Other mens conscience neuer thou nist.[‡]

.60.

Ye han no cure to answeere fore:
 What meddle ye, that han not to doen?
 Let men liue as they han doen yore,[§] 1175
 For thou shalt answeere for no man.

[Pellican]

The Pellican sayd, sir, naie,
 I dispised not the Pope:
 Ne no Sacrament, soth to saie,
 But speake in charite and God hope, 1180

.61.

But I dispise her hye pride,
 Her richesse, that should be poore in spirit:
 Her wickednesse is knowne so wide,
 They serue God in false habite:
 And tournen mekenesse into pride, 1185
 And lowlinesse into high degree,

*And this commeth in: And all this is done by the diuels procurement, to set Christian people together by the eares.

[†]Spend in good: Let them spend it prodigally, or lay it vp niggardly.

[‡]Nist, ne wist: Thou knowest not other mens consciences.

[§]Yore: Of yore: in former times, heretofore.

And Gods words turne and hide,
And that am I moued by charite,

.62.

To let men to liue so,	
With all my cunning and my might. [†]	1190
And to warne men of her wo,	
And to tellen him trouthe and right.	
The Sacraments be soule heale,	
If they been vsed in good vse,	
Ayenst that speake I neuer a deale:	1195
For then were I nothing wise.	

.63.

But they that vsen hem [‡] in misse manere,	
Or set hem vp to any sale,	
I trow they shall abie hem dere,	
This is my reason, this is my tale:	1200
Who so taketh hem vnrightfulliche	
Ayenst the ten commaundements,	
Or by glose [§] wretchedliche	
Selleth any of the Sacraments.	

.64.

I trow they doe the deuill homage,	1205
In that they weten** they doe wrong:	

*And that am I moued: And to that am I moued by charitie, to hinder men from liuing in such sort.

[†]With all my cunning and might: and to giue men warning of the miserable estate they are like to fall into.

[‡]They that vsen hem: They that vse the Sacraments amisse, or set them to sale.

[§]Or by glose: Or colourably vnder a faire pretence sels them.

**In that they weten: Because they knowe that they doe amisse.

And thereto I dare well wage,
 They seruen Sathan for all her song.
 To tithen and offren is holesome life,
 So it be done in due mannere: 1210
 A man to houselin,* and to shriue,
 Wedding, and all the other in fere.†

.65.

So it be nother sold ne bought:
 Ne take ne giue for couetise:
 And it be so taken, it is nought, 1215
 Who selleth hem so, may sore agrise,‡
 On our Lords body I doe not lie,
 I say sooth through true rede,
 His flesh and blood§ through his myserie
 Is there, in the forme of brede: 1220

.66.

How it is there,** it needeth not striue,
 Whether it be subget or accident,
 But as Christ was,†† when he was on liue,⁸⁸

*A man to houselin: It is a good thing for a man to be houseled, annointed, and shriuen.

†Wedding and all the other in fere: mariage, and all the other Sacraments are good, so they be not bought and sold for money.

‡May sore agrise: Either should pay for it: or else it is a kinde of cursing.

§His flesh and blood: *Chawcer* saw somewhat, though not all: it is no easie matter to leaue errors that we haue bin nousled in.

**How it is there: We need not striue in what manner it is there, whether as the subiect: in which those qualities of whitnesse, roundnesse, &. do rest, or otherwise.

†† As Christ was: Christ is there as he was, when he liued.

So is he there verament:^{*}
 If Pope or Cardinall liue good liue,
 As Christ commaunded in his Gspell, 1225
 Ayenst that woll I not striue:
 But me thinketh they liue not well.

.67.

For if the Pope liued as God bedde,[†]
 Pride and highnesse he should despise,
 Richesse, couetise, and croune on hedde, 1230
 Meekenesse and pouerte he should vse.⁸⁹

[Griffon]

The Griffon said he should abie:
 Thou shall be brent in balefull fire,
 And all thy sect I shall destrie,⁹⁰ 1235
 Ye shall be hanged by the swire.[‡]

.68.

Ye shullen be hanged and to draw,[§]
 Who giueth you leaue for to preach
 Or speake against Gods law,
 And the people thus falsely teach? 1240
 Thou shalt be cursed with booke and bell,
 And disseuered** from holy church,

*Verament: Certainly, and so he is indeed, but not bodily: Sacramentally in a myserie, spiritually.

[†] As God bedde: If the Pope liued as God hath commanded, men should liue.

[‡] Hanged by the swire: By the halse, by the neck, or cragge.

[§] And to drawe: you shall bee hanged and drawne in peeces.

**Disseuered: excommunicated, put out of holy Church.

And cleane ydamned into hell,
Otherwise but ye* woll worch.

.69.

[Pellican]

The Pellican said, that I ne drede,	1245
Your cursing is of little value.	
Of God I hope to haue my mede,	
For it is falshed that ye sewe.	
For ye been out of charite,	
And wilneth vengeaunce, as did <i>Neto</i> : [†]	1250
To suffren I woll ready be,	
I drede not that thou canst do,	

.70.

Christ bad ones [‡] suffer for his loue:	
And so he taught all his seruaunts,	
And but thou amend for his sake aboue,	1255
I drede not all thy maintenance. [§]	
For if I drede the worlds hate,	
Me thinketh I were little to praise:	
I drede nothing your high estate,	
Ne I drede not your disease. ^{**}	1260

*Otherwise but yee: Vnlesse you take an other course, worke otherwise.

[†][Neto misprint for Nero.]

[‡]Christ bad ones: Christ commanded his, or *ones*, for once Christ once bad.

[§]All thy maintenance: Threatning or power to hurt.

^{**}Your disease: I am not afraide of any hurt or disease, you ca[n] procure me: disease is not here for sicknesse, but for any trouble or hurt.

.71.

Wold ye tourne* and leaue your pride,
 Your high port, and your richesse,
 Your cursing should not go so wide,
 God bring you into rightwisenesse:
 For I drede not your tyrannie, 1265
 For nothing that ye can done,
 To suffer I am all readie,
 Siker I recke† neuer how soone.

.72.

[Griffon]

The Griffon grinned as he were wood,
 And looked louely as an Owle, 1270
 And swore by cocks heart blood,
 He would him teare euery doule:‡
 Holy church thou disclaundrest foule.
 For thy reasons I woll thee all to tace,
 And make thy flesh to rot and moule,§ 1275
 Losell, thou shalt** haue hard grace.

.73.

The Griffon flew forth on his way.

[Pellican]

The Pellican did sit and weepe,
 And to himselfe he gan say:

*Wold you tourne: if you would repent and leaue your pride, your cursings would not fall out so contrary to your entent, whereas now they proue blessings.

† Siker I recke: Surely I care not how soone.

‡ Euery doule: Euery deale or peece, he would teare him in peeces.

§ To rot and moule: I will cast out thy carcasce, to lye rotting and moulding aboue ground.

**Losell thou shalt: Wretch thou shalt haue much and great misery.

God would that any of Christs sheepe
Had heard, and ytaken keepe: 1280
Of each word that here said was,
And would it write and well it keepe:
God would it were[†] all for his grace,

.74.

Plowman.

I answerd, and saied I would, 1285
If for my trauaile any man would pey:
Pelli[can].

He saied yes, these that God han sold,
For they han store of money:

Plowman.

I said, tell me and thou may,
Why tellest thou mens trespass? 1290

Pellican.

He said, to amend hem in good say,
If God woll giue me any grace.

.75.

For Christ himselfe is likened to me,
That for his people died on roode:
As fare I, right so fareth he,[‡] 1295
Hee feedeth his birds with his blood,
But these doen euill ayenst good,[§]
And ben his foen vnder friends face,

*Heard, and ytaken keepe: Oh that some good Christian, had heard and marked what hath past here in speech.

[†]God would it were: I would God of his mercy would grant it were so.

[‡]As fare he: Is it with him as it is with me.

[§]Euill ayenst good: Either whereas they should doe good: or rather they requite Christs loue in shedding of his blood, very ill, in requitall of his goodnesse.

I told hem how her liuing stood,
 God amend hem for his grace.⁹¹ 1300

.76.

Plowman.

What aileth the Griffon, tell why
 That he holdeth on the other side?

Pelli[can].

For they two* ben likely,
 And with her kinds rouen wide.
 The foule betokeneth pride: 1305
 As Lucifer, that high flew was,[†]
 And sith[‡] he did him in euill hide:
 For he agilted Gods grace.

.77.

As bird flieth[§] vp in the aire,
 And liueth by birds that been meke: 1310
 So these been flow vp into despaire,
 And shenden silly soules eke:⁹²

*For they two: the Pelicans speech should begin at this verse. Because they are alike, that is, the Griffon and the popish Cleargie: & robbe and raunen euery where, by their kinde, or with their kindes rauin: they and their kind are raenous.

[†]That high flew was: That was in high estate.

[‡]And sith: And afterwards fell to doe wickedly, and sinned against Gods mercy, either because he repined at the mercy, which God had determined to shew to mankinde, or for that he made light accompt of Gods mercy, in making him so glorious a creature, and would needs sore aboute his pitch.

[§]As bird flieth: As these birds sore aloft, and liue vpon other silly ones: so these men are driuen out of all hope of saluation, and also *shenden*, hurt others, to make them in like estate to themselues.

The soules that been in sinnes seke,*
He culleth them kneele: therefore alas.†
For briberie Gods forbode breke:‡
God amend it for his grace. 1315

.78.

The hinder part is a Lioun,
A robber and a rauinere,
That robbeth the people in earth doune,§
And in earth holdeth none his pere: 1320
So fareth this foule both ferre and nere,
And with temporell strength the people chase,
As a Lion proud in earth here.
God amend hem for his grace.

.79.

Pellican.

He flew forth with his wings twaine, 1325
All drouping, dased,** and dull:
But soone the Griffon came againe,
Of his foules the earth was full:
The Pellican he had cast to pull,††
So great a number neuer seene there was, 1330
What manner of foules tellen I woll,
If God woll giue me of his grace.

*In sinnes seke: The foules that are sick in sinne, they enforce to kneele downe to them for absolution.

† Alas: more is the pitty.

‡ Gods forbode breke: For bribery they do that, which God hath forbidden.

§ In earth doune: Here below vpon earth, as the fowles doe in the ayre.

**Dased: Amased, and out of heart.

†† Had cast to pull: Hee had resolved to pull, to spoile the Pelican.

.80.

With the Griffon comen foules fele,*
 Rauins, Rokes, Crowes, and Pie,
 Gray foules, agadred wele,[†] 1335
 Igurde[‡] aboue they would hie:
 Gledes and Buzzards weren hem by,
 White moles and Puttockes token her place,
 And Lapwings, that well conneth lie,
 This fellowship han for gard her grace.[§] 1340

.81.

Long the Pellican was out,
 But at last he commeth againe:
 And brought with him the Phenix stoute,
 The Griffon would haue flow full faine:
 His foules that flewen as thicke as raine, 1345
 The Phenix tho began hem chace,
 To flie from him it was in vaine,
 For he did vengeaunce and no grace.

.82.

He slew hem downe without mercie,
 There astart** neither free ne thrall, 1350
 On him they cast a rufull crie,
 When the Griffon down was fall:

*Foules fele: many, or fell, cruell, as before of Freres *par.1. Stat.2.*
 [See Footnote Page 131, line 63].

[†]Agraded well: Either well provided, assembled, or, I know not what it means.

[‡]I gurde: Flie, They would soare aloft, that they might come through the foule: that is, that they might fall vpon the pelican, and strike him through.

[§]Han for gard her grace: This company hath the Griffon to guard him.

**Astart: Escaped.

He beat hem not, but slew hem all,
Whither he hem droue, no man may trace:
Vnder the earth me thought they yall,* 1355
Alas they had a feeble grace.

.83.

[Plowman]

The Pellican then axed I right,[†]
For my writing if I haue blame,
Who woll for me fight or flight?[‡]
Who shall sheld me from shame? 1360
He that had a maid to dame,[§]
And the lambe that slaine was,
Shall sheld me from ghostly blame,**
For earthly harme is Gods grace.

.84.

Therefore I pray euery man, 1365
Of my writing haue me excused:⁹³
This writing writeth the Pellican,
That thus these people hath despised.

*Yall: Went.

[†]Axed right. Then did I directly aske the *Pelican*, or, right, forthwith.

[‡]Fight or flight: Flite, that is, plead, chide.

[§]To dame: To his dame, mother: dame is mistresse, or Lady, now with vs.

**From ghostly blame: From any spirituall hurt to my soule, for outward hurt that befallas a man in his body or state, is a blessing from God, and so is certainly, when men suffer for righteousness: and indeed at all times to the children of God, to whom all things worke for the best. *Num. 8.28*. [Correctly, Romans 8:28. Authorized, King James Version. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose.]

For I am fresh fully aduised,*
 I nill not[†] maintaine his manace, 1370
 For the deuill is often disguised.
 To bring a man to euill grace,[‡]

.85.

Witeth[§] the Pellican and not me,
 For hereof I nill not^{**} auow;
 In high ne in low, ne in no degree, 1375
 But as a fable^{††} take it ye mowe:
 To holy church I will me bow,
 Each man to amend him Christ send space:
 And for my writing me allow,
 He that is almighty for his grace. 1380

FINIS

*Fresh fully aduised: I am wholly resolu'd.

[†]I nill not: I will not maintaine his threatning.

[‡]To euill grace: To bring a man into danger and trouble.

[§]Witeth: Blame the Pellican.

^{**}Hereof I nill not: I will not stand to this, neither more nor lesse.

^{††}As a fable: But yee must take it as a tale. *Chaucer* declineth the enuie, and auoydeth the rage of the Popish Cleargie, for his writing thus plainly and boldly.

Endnotes to 1533 and 1606 Versions

1. Note: All endnotes refer to both the 1533 and 1606 editions. They may be in slightly different positions on adjoining lines in order to accommodate the large number of footnotes that Antony Wotton supplied to the 1606 edition of the poem.

A realistic touch, for a plowman would have been too busy in April to go on a pilgrimage, but it does not accord with Chaucer's time of year.

2. A mark of poverty to have to use his milk cow as well as his ox for plowing.

3. Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*. In *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum edition, Vol. 7, Part 1, edd. Greenlaw, Osgood, Padelford, Heffner (Baltimore, 1960), Envoy, 7-10. "Goe lyttle Calender, thou hast a free passeporte,/ Goe but a lowly gate emongste the meaner sorte./ Dare not to match thy pype with Tityrus hys style,/ Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman played a whyle." Tityrus has been identified as Chaucer in the contemporary gloss, but there has been lack of consensus about the plowman. Some have identified him with Piers Plowman, but the verb "played" makes that identification unlikely. Spenser made copious use of the *Plowman's Tale* in his May, July, and September Aeclogues, and I suggest that he had our plowman in mind in his summation. See also line 908, where the narrator, the Pelican, makes scornful mention of the priest who takes the money to buy expensive jewelry to adorn holy statues, but keeps the money for himself: 905-908, (1606) "The priest purchaseth the offerings,/ But he nill offer to none image:/ Woe is the soule that he for sings,/ That preacheth for soche a pilgrimage."

4. Compare this description to the much more pathetic description of the Plowman in *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 418-443. He was dressed in nothing but rags, with his hood full of holes. His toes peek out through the holes in his muddy shoes, up to his ankles in mud. His wife, with a goad, urged on the oxen, while her bare feet left trails of blood on the

ice. A baby and two slightly older children wept by the side of the field, "And alle they songen o songe that sorwe was to heren;/ They crieden alle o cry a carefull note." (440-441). [In all quotations from *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* "thorns" have been changed to "th" and "yoghs" to "gh" or "y".]

5. *The Pilgrim's Tale*, edited by Furnivall, as an appendix to Francis Thynne, *Animadversions*, describes a priest as "rownd visagyd, and sum-thing son y-brent,/ he loked not as he were closter-pent," lines 181-2. The dating of this poem to 1536-1538 is discussed in Wawn, "Chaucer, *The Plowman's Tale* and Reformation Propaganda: The Testimonies of Thomas Godfray and *I Playne Piers*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 56 (1973): 174-192.

6. *Pilgrim's Tale*, 33-34: "whan for there bred men vsed to swynk,/ and erne ther met or that they drynk." See also *I playne Piers which can not flatter/ A plowe man me call*, Sig.A.ii, opening lines of the poem, "I Piers plowman followyng ploughe on felde, my beastes blowing for heate, my bodye requyrynge rest, gapyng for the gayne my labours gan me welde, vpon the plowgh beame, to syt me thought it beaste, agayne the hayle I lened, my face to heauen."

7. Luke 9:62. "And Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." The King James Version, Commission Press, Clover, South Carolina, 1979 was used because a computerized concordance (*QuickVerse 2.0*) (Parsons Technology, Hiawatha, Iowa, 1990) is readily available. Presumably the editor of the first edition in 1532 had only a Latin Bible, and Wotton in 1606 was most familiar with the Geneva Bible or the Bishop's Bible.

8. Contrast this to *Jack Upland*, 11-17, "Preestis office to preche the gospel truli and to preye in herte deuoutli, to mynistr the sacramentis freli, to studie in Goddis lawe oonli, and to be trewe ensaumpleris of holi mennes lijf continuli, in doynge and in suffringe. Lordis office to justifie mysdoers in ward & to defende Goddis seruauentis from letters of her office. Comouns office to truli laboure for the sustinaunce of hem silf, & for prestis and for lordis doynge wel her office." [All "thorns" changed to "th" and all "yoghs" to "gh" or "y."]

9. Wotton, at line 43, recognized the aptness of the following from *The Shepheardes Calender*, 188-193. "Theyr sheepe han crustes, and they the bread:/ the chippes, and they the chere:/ They han the fleece, and eke the flesh,/ (O seely sheepe the while)/ The corne is theyrs, let others thresh,/ Their hands they may not file."

10. This is echoed in the *Pilgrim's Tale*, 236-240: [The priest speaks] " & he answerd, "yes, verament;/ but we dar not for the bishops preche,/ ner the people instruct & teache; wher other tyller they do non know/ but him that the cokyll doth sowe." *Jack Upland*, 75-76, "nether they tilien ne sowen, weden ne repen, nether whete, corn ne gras, ne gppd that men schal help but oonli hem silf." *Father Daw's Reply*, 19-20, "Now is that seed of cisme sowen in the chirche,/ The whete fadith with the floure, oure fode is forto feche." The metaphor is based on Matthew 13:24-30, the Parable of the Tares, in the Vulgate, *Parabola Zizaniorum*. A man had sowed good seed, but while he slept, his enemy sowed tares among the wheat. When his servants asked if they should weed them early in the growing season, he said, 29. "Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them." 30. "Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn."

11. Among the twenty-four conclusions for which John Wyclif was condemned at the "Earthquake Synod" at London in 1382 were: IV. Item quod si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali: non ordinat, conficit, nec baptizat. VIII. Item quod si papa sit praescitus, et malus homo, ac per consequens membrum diaboli, non habet potestatem supra fideles Christi ab aliquo sibi datam, nisi forte a Caesare. IX. Item quod post Urbanum sextum non est aliquis recipiendus in Papam, sed vivendum est, more Graecorum, sub legibus propriis. Thomas Netter of Walden, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, ed. W.W. Shirley (Kraus Reprint, 1965), 278-279.

12. *Defend Us From All Lollardry*, written during the time of Sir John Oldcastle's revolt, 1414-1417, takes a dim view of the Lollards, 1-8, 17-24. "1. Lo, he that can be cristes clerke,/ And knowe the knottes of his crede,/ Now may se a wonder werke./ Of harde happes to take goud heede./ The dome of dethe is heuy drede/ For him that wol not mercy crie;/ Than is my rede, for mucke ne mede,/ That no man melle of

lollardrye. 17. The game is noght to lolle so hie/ Ther fete failen fondement;/ and yut is a much folie/ for fals beleue to ben brent./ ther the bibel is al myswent,/ To iangle of Iob or Ieremye,/ That construen hit after her entent/ for lewde lust of lollardie." *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins (New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1959), 152-157. ["Thorns" to "th", "yoghs" to "gh" or "y".]

13. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 528-532, "Wytnesse on Wycliff - that warned hem with trewthe;/ For he in goodnesse of gost - graythliche hem warned/ To wayuen her wik[e]dnesse - & werkes of synne./ Whou sone this sori men - [seweden] his soule,/ And oueral lollde him - with heretykes werkes!

14. *The Layman's Complaint*, 1-6. "Thou that sellest the word of god,/ Be thou berfot, be thou schod,/ Cum neuer here./ In principio erat verbum/ Is the worde of god, all & sum,/ That thou sellest, lewes frere. *The Friar's Answer*, 1-12. "Allas! what schul we freris do,/ Now lewed men kun holy writ?/ Alle abowte where I go/ Thei aposen me of it./ Then wondrih me that it is so/ How lewed men kun alle writ./ Sertenly we be vn-do/ But if we mo amende it./ I trowe the deuel brought it aboute/ To write the gospel in englishe,/ ffor lewed men ben now so stowt/ That thei yeuen vs neyther fleche ne fishe. ["Thorns" to "th" and "yoghs" to "gh" or "y".] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins. (New York, 1969), 166-168. Both written in a fifteenth-century hand on the flyleaf of a fourteenth-century *Poor Caitiff*.

15. John 1:29. "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

16. John 13:15. "For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you."

17. Matthew 23:11-12. "But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted." See also Luke 14:11, Matthew 5:20.

18. *Wycliffe's Works* (1880): 74. "A symple pater noster of a ploughman that his in charite is betre than a thousand massis of coueitouse prelati." Cited in *OED*, under "charity."

19. For next three stanzas, see *Jack Upland*, 47-53, "and thus bi Anticrist and hise clerkis ben uertues transposid to uicis: as mekenes to cowardise, felnes and pride to wisdom and talnes, wraththe to manhode, enuye to justifiacioun of wrong, slouthe to lordlynes, coueytis to wisdom & wise puruyaunce, glotonye to l[ar]gynes, leccherie to kindeli [so]lace, mildenes to schepisshenesse, holines to jpocrisie, heresy to pleyne sadnes offeyth and oolde usage, & holy chirche to synagoge of Satanas."

20. Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, July Aeclogue, 171-179, "Their weeds bene not so nightly wore,/ such simplese mought them shend:/ They bene yclad in purple and pall,/ so heth theyr god them blist,/ They reigne and ruln ouer all,/ and lord it, as they list:/ Ygyrt with belts of glitterand gold."

21. *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, 758, "And foster none faytours - ne swiche false freres." Lines 148-196 here are summed up neatly in *Shepherd's Calendar*, Maye, 35-43. Palinode. "Ah Piers, bene not thy teeth on edge, to thinke,/ How great sport they gaynen with little swinck?" Piers. Perdie, so farre am I from enuie,/ That their fondnesse inly I pitie./ Those faytours little regarden their charge,/ While they letten their sheepe runne at large,/ Passen their time, that should be sparely spent./ In lustihede and wanton meryment./ Thilke same bene shepeheards for the Deuils stedde." The "envy" of the "faytours" is the particular concern of the whole of the *Plowman's Tale*.

22. Isaiah 5:11-12. "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them! And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands."

23. *Jack Upland*, 76-77, "yhe, to sille heuene or helle to whome that hem likith--and yit thes wrecchis witen not where to be him silf."

24. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 750, "And lordes sones lowly - to tho losells aloute." See also *PT*, 308.

25. *Jack Upland*, 1-3. "To veri God & to alle trewe in Crist, I Iacke Vplond make my moone, that Anticrist and hise disciplis bi coloure of holynes wasten & disceiuen Cristis chirche bi many fals signes."

26. Matthew 7:15. "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

27. *I playne Piers*, Sig. E.iiii, paraphrasing 205-212. "And christ him self forbade the twelve al such lordly rowte, that al the worlde maye se, who that ye be the proude aduersaryes of Christe who with braggyng, and with lyng, wyth torment, and burnynge, must mayntain youre hethenesse deuyse, Christe yf t[ha]t he wolde myght haue had syluer & golde."

28. *Pilgrim's Tale*, 266-270, "that bisshopsis to kingis shold lowt;/ ner amongst them to haue no hed,/ for christ him-selue it for-beyd,/ and confirmid kingis in suche renown,/ next to him in erthe to haue dominion."

29. Revelation 22:8-9. "And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. And saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God."

30. Matthew 16:18-19. "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

31. *Pilgrim's Tale*, 281-284. "for I knew wel christis entent/ was neuer to set prist on Iugment,/ but to teache men in-to better lyf,/ and not cruelly to sle with bloody knif."

32. Matthew 26:52. [One of the disciples cut off the ear of the high priest's servant] "Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

33. Matthew 10:28. "And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell."

34. Matthew 10:16. Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

35. *Pierce the Plowmans Crede*, 663, "And so they chewen charitie - as chewen schaf houndes." 1533 edition only; 1606 has "throweth."

36. *I playne piers*, Sig. Ev^v, conflating 285-286 and 877-884, "Somme lyueth not in lechery, for we cannot proue it in court nor in assyse, though we se it wyth oure eye, howe they haue wenchies, wydowes and wyues."

37. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.v^v, paraphrasing 293-299, "There was more mercye in Mamyounce and Nero that neuer was good, then is now in many of them that wereth myter and furred-hoode, they followe Christ thus that shed his bloode to heauen as boket in to the well I muste thus speake tho they be wood."

38. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.vi, paraphrasing 301-304, "they gyue theyr almose to the rytche, to maynteneres and men of lawe, for vnto the lordes they wyll be lyche, beggars barnes I burne, I trowe."

39. *Pierce the Plowmans Crede*, 744, "Now mot ich souterie his sone setten to schole," quoted by Wotton at this line, having mentioned Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's son from Ipswich.

40. Hair elaborately curled in long waves was a 14th and early 15th century style.

41. *Jack Upland*, "But Anticrist hath youun leue to leue al thjis and to do another maner. For he yeueth leue to preestis of parischis bothe highe & lowe to leue preching and to do lewid mennes office; and yit thei takun hire of her parischis neuer the lasse--as offringis and tithis and

othere possessiouns dowid for almes."

42. 1 Timothy 3:3. [A bishop must be] "Not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous." See also 1 Timothy 3:8 on deacons.

43. *Shepherd's Calendar*, September, 114-115, [Bad priests] "All for they casten too much of worlds care,/ To deck her Dame, and enrich her heyre."

44. See Endnote 30 above. Matthew 16:19.

45. *Shepherd's Calendar*, September, 80-83, "For eyther the shepheards bene ydle and still,/ And ledde of theyr sheepe, what way they wyll:/ Or they bene false, and full of couetise,/ And casten to compasse many wrong emprise."

46. Anyone with knowledge of this poem would appreciate the irony in Morrell's statement, *Shepherd's Calendar*, July, 211, "When folke ben fat, and riches rancke, it is a signe of helth."

47. John 10:1-2. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entreth not by the door of the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. But he that entreth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep."

48. John 10:11-12. "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep." *Shepherd's Calendar*, May, 47-54 discusses shepherds who are the hired men of hired men,

49. *Pilgrim's Tale*, 741-746, quoting (now considered spurious) Chaucer's *Romaunt de la Rose*, Fragment C, 7167-7172. "Thus moche woll our boke sygnify,/ that whyle peter hath mastery,/ may neuer Iohn show well his myght./ now haue I declaryd right/ the meyning of the bark and rynd/ that makis the ententions blynd," and continues, "And by & by he doth away fle,/ & conuys him-selue as it had neuer beyn he;/ but I beseke god, Iohn may haue his might,/ & the son of man to possess

his right,/ in his kingly ymage to haue his minstre." The fragment of the *Pilgrim's Tale* ends here. The poem has echoes of the *Canterbury Tales*, pointed out in the margin of the only extant manuscript. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2d ed., edited by F.N. Robinson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), "Thus mych wole oure book signifie,/ That while Petre hath maistrie,/ May never John shewe well his myght./ Now have I you declared right/ The menyng of the bark and rynde,/ That makith the entencious blynde;/ But now at erst I wole bigynne/ To expowne you the pith withynne."

50. Ephesians 2:20-21. [You are of the household of God] "And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; In whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."

51. Luke 7:37-50. [While Jesus was eating at the house of a Pharisee, a sinful woman washed his feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, and anointed them with costly ointment. When the Pharisee protested, Jesus said that that woman had shown more love than he had.] 47. "Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." 50. "And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace."

52. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.v", paraphrasing 525-529, "Why do thei claime christes power, & wrangle agaynst him euery hower, in lyfe so brutysshe as bene beastes lyuyng in delyte hauynge the pore in dispyte & no God in their feastes."

53. 1 John 2:18, 22. 18. "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." 22. "Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son."

See also 1 John 4:3 and 2 John 1:7.

54. Matthew 22:36, 38. 36. "Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." 38. "And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough."

55. John 18:11. "Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

56. *I playne piers which cannot flatter*, Sig. E.iiii^v, repeats lines 573-9 as "Christ bad Peter kepe, and feede his shepe, and wyth hys sworde forbad hym to smyte. Sworde is no toole wyth shepe to kepe, but for shepardes that shepe wyll byte, me thynke suche shepardes bene to wyt, against there shepe wyth great dyspyte," and 705-7. See Wawn, "Chaucer, *The Plowman's Tale*," 185.

57. The author of *Defend Us From All Lollardry*, writing during Sir John Oldcastle's revolt, turned this identification against the Lollards, 49-56, "Euery shepe that shuld be fed in felde,/ & kepte fro wolfes in her folde,/ Hem nedeth nether spere ne shulde,/ Ne in no castel to be withholde./ for ther the pasture is ful colde,/ in somer seson when hit is drie;/ & namly when the soyle is solde,/ for lewde lust of lollardie.

58. Ezekiel 34:2, 10, 16. 2. "Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds; Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks?" 16. "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves anymore; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for them." 16. "And I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick: but I will destroy the fat and the strong; I will feed them with judgment."

59. Matthew 16:23 "But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."
See also Mark 8:33 and Luke 4:8.

60. John 12:4-6. "Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, which should betray him, Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.

Matthew 26:14-15. "Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, And said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver."

61. *I playne piers*, Sig. F.ii^v, paraphrasing 629-636, "these are sheperdes of Christes shepe, and al such christ his owne gan clepe, al such therfore heretykes to deme, is Christ him self an heretyke to esteme, to burne them is to burne him."

62. This should not be taken as an indication that the poem dates from after 1401, when the statute that allowed the burning of heretics came into law. See 1 Corinthians 14:3. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Also Matthew 7:19. "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire." John 15:6. "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned." Father Daw used the last two verse as an excuse to burn heretics: *Father Daw's Reply*, 632-643, "But Iak, thei ben bastard braunches that launchen from oure bileue,/ & writhyn wrongli away from Holy Chirche techinge./ Siche beren yuel fruyte & soure to atasten,/ Worthi to noon other good but in the fire to brenne./ And so forto pursue an heretike to fire or to prisoun,/ I holde it more holsum than to halewe a chirche,/ In prisonyng of the poysen that mortherith many soulis,/ Aftir Cristis doctrine in the holy gospel:/ *Omnis, inquit, arbor quae non fert fructum/ bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur. Et iterum./ Qui non manserit in me, mittetur foras sicut palmes,/ et arescet: et colligent, et in ignem mittetur.*" Clementine Vulgate: Matthew 7:19. *Omnis arbor, quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, et in ignem mittetur.* John 15:6. *Si quis in me non manserit, mittetur foras sicut palmes, et arescet, et colligent eum, et in ignem mittent, et ardet.*

63. See *The Friar's Answer*, 11, "ffor lewed men ben nowe so stowt."

64. "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards" were affixed to the door of Westminster Hall where Parliament was meeting and to the doors of St. Paul's cathedral, in January 1395. I. Quod quando ecclesia Angliae incepit delirare in temporalitate, secundum novercam suam magnam ecclesiam Romanam, et ecclesiae fuerunt auctorizatae per

apppropriationem, diversis locis, fides, spes, caritas inceperunt fugere de ecclesia nostra: quia superbia, cum sua dolorosa genealogia mortalium peccatorum, vindicabat hoc titulo veritatis...II. Quod nostrum usuale sacerdotium, quod incepit in Roma, fictum potestate angelis altiori, non est istud sacerdotium quod Christus ordinavit suis apostolis....III. [Against priests' vows of chastity. IV. Against transubstantiation. V. Against exorcisms. VI. Against holding of secular office by priests...quia temporale et spirituale sunt duas partes totius ecclesiae sanctae. Et ideo iste qui posuit se ad unum non intromittat se de alio...VII. Against special prayers for the dead. VIII. Against pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings to crosses or images. IX. Against auricular confession. X. Against war and capital punishment. XI. Against vows of chastity taken by women. XII. Against "unnecessary arts.] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 360-369.

65. *I playne Piers*, Sig. E.iiii, "wherein Moyses lawe, the byshoppes did not knowe, no suche lordshyppes state." See also *PT*, 205-212 as echoed in this section of *I playne Piers*.

66. *I playne piers*, E.iiii, 705-707 as "none of Christes apostles were euer so bolde, suche greate lordshyppes to them to imbrace but somered theyr shep and kepe theyr fold."

67. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.v-v, "but oures be but counterfait, men maye knowe them by theyr fruyt, theyr greatnes maketh them God to forgette, and take Christes mekenes in dyspit where yf they were pore and had but lytle, they wold not deme the outwarde face, but noryshe the shepe and them not stryke God amende them for his grace."

68. Matthew 7:16. "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

69. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 670, [Christ speaks,] "Thei schulden nought after the face - neuer the folke demen."

70. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.v, paraphrasing 733-740, "so theyr proctores are so bolde, so shamles, so graceles, and couytous eke, that for a small syluer or golde, theyr wytnesse shall not be worth a leke."

71. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 574, "And also this myster men - ben maysters icalled." Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, July, 201, speaking of evil shepherds, "Sike mister men bene all misgone,/ they heapen hylles of wrath."

72. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.vi-vi", paraphrasing 781-796, "they be so roted in riches, that Christes pouertye is forgotten, serued wyth so many messe, that poore Christ is no meate, poore people out of the dore they shutte, they set vp a sygne for a sauoure, and when God at hys dome shall syt, thys they shall repent full sore, vnneth he mattens say, for countynge & for court holeynge. And yet must be langle lyke a laye, tho hys mynde be of another thyng, he wyll saye bothe Erle and Kynge, for fyndyng, of his fee, and gyue vs nought where he hath his lyuynge, this is I trowe feble charytie."

73. Matthew 19:23. "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven."

74. *I playne piers*, Sig F.iiii, paraphrasing 797-813, "some be proude some be couetouse, some be herde, some lewde, some be lecherous some be medlynge w[ith] marchandise, some mayntayners of men with mastery, or stewardes, cownters or pleders, and serue god, in hipocrisie so followe they Iudas, but vnto christ false traytors, they be false they be uengeable, & legyle men vnto christes name, theu be vnstable, to betraye theyr Lorde they thynke no shame, to serue God they be full lame, gods theues & falsly stele gods worde thei do defame. Antechrist they serue all, W[ith] antechrist such shal fal, thei know the[m] selves that thei do euel, agaist christes com[m]andme[n]t, & a mend the[m] neuer they wyl, but serue Satha[n] bi one asse[n]t, who saith soth he shal be shent, or speketh agaynst their false lyuing."

75. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 657-661, "Byhold opon Wat Brut - whou bisiliche thei pursueden/ For he seyde hem the sothe - & yet, syre, ferthere,/ Hy may no more marren [hym] - but men telleth/ That he is an heretike - and yuele byleueth,/ And prechith it in pulpit - to blenden the puple."

76. *I playne piers*, E.vi, paraphrasing 851-852, "the wot full well the truthe I saye, but the deucl hath foule them blende."

77. *I playne piers*, Sig. E.v^v, conflates 285-6 with 877-884. See Endnote 36.

78. *Pilgrim's Tale*, 241-242. [Priests are ordered by bishops to order laymen] "that makis them knell to stokis and stons,/ & kyse & offer to rottyn bons."

79. See Endnote 3, line 12 for a discussion of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.

80. Matthew 5:3, from the Sermon on the Mount. "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." See also lines 1131 and 1182. Jesus promises religious happiness to those who lack material goods and stand in need of spiritual blessings, in contrast to the usual teaching that personal afflictions are punishments for sins.

81. *Jack Upland*, 140-143, "Frere, what bitokeneth youre greet hood, youre scapalarie, & youre knottid girdel, & youre side & wide copis that ye maken you of so dere clothe, sith lesse clothis & of lesse prijs is more token of povert?"

82. Compare 1002 with *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 227-228, "His cope that biclypped him wel clene was it folden,/ Of double worstede y-dight down to the hele."

83. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 420-421, "And as y wente be the waie - wepyng for sorowe,/ [I] seith a sely man me by - opon the plow hongen."

84. Reminiscent of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 785, "They schulden deluen & diggen - & dongen the erthe," which goes back to Chaucer's description of the Plowman in the "Prologue" to the *Canterbury Tales*, printed in the 1606 edition only. See 2c, 8c.

85. Lines 1065-1066 have made editors, including Wotton, since the seventeenth century, assume that the same man wrote the *Plowman's Tale* and *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, but the verse form is so different that it would seem to be unlikely. *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* can be dated to shortly after 1393 by the references in line 657 to Walter (Wat) Brute who submitted himself to the bishop of Hereford on October 6,

1393. See Skeat's note to line 657. Skeat, who accepted the attribution, dated the *Plowman's Tale* to 1395. (Skeat, xvi.)

86. Matthew 23:8-10. But be ye not called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ.

87. Line 93 in *The Shepheardes Calender*, July, 93, "Syker thou speakes lyke a lewde lorrell," resembles the abuse that the Griffon heaps on the Pelican, but it is spoken by Thomalin, the good shepherd.

88. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 828-830, "For Crist seyde it is so - so mot it nede worthe;/ Therefore studye thous nought theron - ne stere thi wittes,/ It is his blissed body - so bad he vs beleuen." *Jack Upland*, 390-399, "Frere, whi sclaudre yr trewe preestis & othere trewe meke men of the sacrament of Goddis bodi, for thei seien that the holi breed duli sacrid is Goddis bodi in foorme of breed, & ye seien that it is an accident with outen subiect, & not Goddis bodi.

Frere, who ben eretikis here & fer fro Cristis wordis, that took the breed & blissid it & brak it & seide, this is my bodi; & Seint Poul...and Seynt Austin...& to this acordith the oold doctouris & comoun bileue bifor that freris camen in ouer the walle a thousande yeer & more."

89. John Wyclif to Pope Urban VI, Anno 1384. "Suppono iterum quod Romanus pontifex, cum sumus Christi vicarius in terris, sit ad illam legem evangelii inter viantes maxime obligatus. Majoritas enim inter Christi discipulos, non penes magnitudinem in moribus, mensuratur...Ex isti elicio, tanquam consilium, quod papa dimittat seculari brachio dominium temporale; et ad hoc clerum suum efficaciter exhortetur. Sic enim Christus fecit signanter per suos apostolos." Thomas Netter, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 341-342.

90. *Jack Upland*, 69-71, "But the fellist folk that ever Antecrist foond ben last broughte into the chirche & in a wondir wise, & for thei ben of diuers settis of Antecristis sowinge, of dyuers cuntreis & kyndredis, and alle men thei knowun."

91. The last line of most of the stanzas from here to the end of the poem, variations on "God amend hem for his grace" are echoed by *The*

Pilgrim's Tale, 348, "I beseke god amend it for his grace."

92. The ending of the poem may be governed by the image from the Book of Revelation. Revelation 19:17-21. [A man on a white horse appeared, by the name of KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS] And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men...And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse...And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet...These were both cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

93. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, ends, 845-855, "But, for y am a lewed man - paraunter y mighte/ Passen par aventure - & in som poynt erren,/ Y will nought this matere - maistrelly auowen;/ But yif ich haue myssaid - mercy ich aske,/ & praie all maner men - this matere amende,/ Iche a word by him-self - & all, yif it nedeth.

God of his grete myghte - & his good grace/ Saue all freres - that faithfully lybben,/ And alle tho that ben fals - fayre hem amende,/ And gyue hem wijt & good will - swiche dedes to werche/ That thei maie wynnes the lif - that euer schal lesten! AMEN.

Appendix A:

Bible Verses, Sidenotes in Plowman's Tale, 1533

Note: Sidenotes as printed in the original refer to the contents of the whole stanza, not just the line.

Line	Verse	Line	Verse
98	John 1:29	229	Joshua 24:19
101	John 13:15	239	Matthew 12:25
104	Matthew 23:11	245	Matthew 26:52
106	Matthew 6: 19-20	248	Matthew 10:28
109	a. Common law?	249	Matthew 10:16
109	b. Luke 14:8-11	253	Isaiah 10:1-2
117	a. Luke 22:25-26	305	Isaiah 59:14
117	b. Matthew 5:20	317	1 Cor. 13:4-5
125	Canon law?	333	Matthew 18:7
141	Ezekiel 34:2	477	Matthew 12:30
149	Isaiah 5:11-12	485	Matthew 12:30
197	Matthew 7:15	565	Luke 22:38
209	2 Thessalonians 2:4	573	a. Galatians 6:1

573	b. Zacharias 11:15-17	685	Philippians 3:18-19
589	Ezekiel 34:3	693	Luke 22:25-26
597	Matthew 16:21-23	701	Ezekiel 44:10-11, 15, 28
613	John 12:4-6	709	a. Acts 4:32
621	Matthew 26:4	709	b. Matthew 7:15
645	Common law?	709	c. Psalms 48 (49):13
677	Ezekiel 23:38-39		
685	Philippians 3:18-19		
693	Luke 22:25-26		
701	Ezekiel 44:10-11, 15, 28		
709	a. Acts 4:32		
709	b. Matthew 7:15		
709	c. Psalms 48 (49):13		

Appendix B: Thomas Godfray's Imprints

* Date re-assigned by McCarl, differing with STC attribution

A. Clearly Printed by Godfray

Date: 1530?

STC 3186. Boccus. History of King Boccus
Religious Conservative, Treatise
1st. ed., at the coste of R. Saltwode, monke at Cantorbury. [1530?]

STC 3187. Boccus
Religious Conservative, Treatise
Reprint of Godfray [1530?] No later eds.

Date: *1530-1532?

*STC 4370. Calverley. Dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the
defendaunt. [In verse.]
Moral/Ethical, Treatise
Only edition.
Dated from decorative strips and initials used 1530 Pynson/Haukyns.
Palsgrave. Lesclarcissement. Latest use 1532 Chaucer.

Date: 1531?

STC 1915. Bernard. Hereafter...Golden Epistle
Religious Conservative, Devotional
Reprint. 1st ed. de Worde 1530. Revelations of St. Birget new.

STC 23963. Thomas à Kempis. Imitation. tr. Whitford
Religious Conservative, Devotional
Reprint. 1st ed. Pynson 1503; 1st ed. Whitford tr. Wyer 1531.

STC 22600.5. Skelton. Collyn Clout
Verse, Contemporary
1st edition. May be 1533, when sold with *Plowman's Tale*.

Date: 1532?

STC 5068. Chaucer. Works. ed. W. Thynne
Verse, Earlier poetry, new additions
Dated in colophon.

1st edition collection. Separate works beginning Caxton 1477.
See STC 5099.5 *Plowman's Tale* below.

STC 12731.6. Hamilton, P. Dyvers frutefull gatherynges. tr. John
Frith. [Anon.]
Religious Reformed, Bible Interpretation
Reprint. 1st ed. [Antwerp, 1531?]

STC 20036.5. Prayer and complainte of the plowman. [Ed. W.
Tyndale? or G. Joye?]
Religious Reformed, Controversial Lollard
Reprint. 1st ed. [Antwerp, 1531?]

Date: 1533?

*STC 5099.5. Chaucer. (Suppositious.) *Plowman's Tale*.
Religious Reformed, Verse. Controversial, Lollard
1st edition. See STC 5068 above.
Dated from purchase by A. Fortescue, summer 1533.

STC 7377. Du Wes. Introductory for to lerne . . . Frenche
. . . compyled for ye lady Mary
Practical, Foreign language
1st edition. Printing begun by de Worde.

Date: 1534?

STC 2371. Psalter of David in Englishe tr. [by G. Joye] aftir the texte
of [M. Bucer.]
Religious Reformed, Bible Translation
Reprint. 1st ed. [Antwerp, M. de Keyser,] 1530.

STC 2752. Proverbes of Solomon (Ecclesiastes.) [Tr. by G. Joye.]
Religious Reformed, Bible Translation
1st edition. Only edition Joye's version.

STC 5641. Constantine I. Treatyse of the donation. (Declamation of

Lorenzo Valla.) [Tr. W. Marshall?]

Religious Reformed, Controversial, Official propaganda

Only edition.

Dated from William Marshall correspondence, *L. & P.*

*STC 10488.7. Erasmus. Epistell...forbedynge of eatynge of flesshe..

[Tr. from *De interdicto esu carnum.*]

Religious Reformed, Treatise

1st edition. See STC 10489 below.

STC 10489. Erasmus. Epystell

Religious Reformed, Treatise

Reprint of 10488.7 above, from standing type.

STC 10634. Exonatorium curatorum. [Selections from J.

Peckham's Provincial Constitutions.]

Religious Conservative, Clerical Handbook

Reprint. 1st ed. de Worde 1516?

STC 11211. Fountayne or well of lyfe... consolations for troubled

consciences. Tr. out of latyn. [Selections from the Bible.]

Religious Reformed, Devotional

1st edition.

STC 17313.3. Marcort, A. Boke of marchauntes...Newly made by
the lord Pantapole. Tr. [Anon.]

Religious Reformed, Controversial

1st edition.

STC 23163.2. Stanbridge. Sum es fui.

Schoolbook, Latin

1st ed. Pynson 1505. Most recent de Worde 1532. Pre-Godfray
editions: Pynson (5), de Worde (16), Skot (2) Treveris (1); Rouen,
Cousin (1.) Last edition.

Date: 1535?

STC 1915.5. Bernard. Epistle. Birget. Four revelations.

Religious Conservative, Devotional

Reprint. See STC 1915 [1531?] above.

STC 4240. Bygod. Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices. Religious Reformed, Controversial Legal
1st edition.

STC 4240.5. Bygod. Treatise
Religious Reformed, Controversial Legal
Reprint. See 4240 above.

STC 14027.5. Hutten, Ulrich von. Triades or trinites of Rome [anon.]
tr. into Englisshe.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
Only edition.

STC 15988a. Primer in Englisshe, with dyuers prayers.
Religious Reformed, Liturgical.
Based largely on G. Joye's *Ortulus anime*. [Antwerp, 1530.] Intended
to be issued with STC 21789.4 below?

STC 16818. Pater noster spoken of the sinner.
Religious Reformed, Devotional
Only edition. Reprinted in 21789.5 [Antwerp, 1536]. edition of
Savonarola on .li. psalm. See 21789.4 below.

STC 21558.5. Saint German, C. Answer to a letter. [On the royal
supremacy. Anon.]
Religious Reformed, Controversial Legal
Only edition.

STC 21588. Saint German? Treatyse concerninge the power of the
clergy, and the lawes of the realme. [Anon.]
Religious Reformed, Controversial Legal
Only edition.

STC 21789.4. Savonarola, G. Exposition...contemplacyon vpon ye
.li. psalme. [Anon. Tr. W. Marshall?]
Religious Reformed, Controversial
Reprint. 1st ed. J. Byddell for W. Marshall [1534.] Intended to be
issued with 15988a above?

STC 23185.5. Stanbridge, J. Vocabula. Sum es fui.

Schoolbook, Latin

Reprint. 1st ed. Pynson 1505, most recent de Worde 1532. In all 25 eds. before Godfray. This is last edition.

STC 24236. [St. German, C.?] Treatise concernynge dyuers of the constitucyons prouinciall and legantines.

Religious Reformed, Controversial Legal

Only edition.

STC 24238. [A treatise and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches. Tr. by W. Marshall from the Latin trans. by J. Bedrote of M. Bucer's *Das einergerlei Bild*.]

Religious Reformed, Controversial. Official propaganda

1st edition.[T. Godfray] for W. Marshall. See STC 24239 below.

Dated from correspondence William Marshall, *L. & P.*

STC 24239. [Anr. ed., with added appendix.] The authors ar the open preachers of Argentyne [i.e. Strassburg.]

Religious Reformed, Controversial Official

Reprint, with new appendix. [T. Godfray] for W. Marshall. See STC 24238 above.

STC 26119. Ypres... The forme and maner of subuention or helpynge for pore people, practysed in Hypres. Tr. from Laten [by W. Marshall.]

Religious Reformed, Controversial Official

Published June 1535. Only edition.

Date: c.1536

STC 198.3. Agincourt. Here after Egygencoart. [In verse.]

Verse Contemporary. Fragment.

Reprint. 1st ed. J. Skot [1536?]

STC 2831. Bible. Newe testament yet ones agayne corrected by W. Tyndale: and in many places amended.

Religious Reformed, Bible Translation

Reprint of STC 2830 [Antwerp, 1535.] 1st complete ed. Tyndale N.T. [Worms? 1526?]

Only edition printed in England of Tyndale's version.
Dated on title page.

STC 22575. Singleton, R. A sermon preached at Poules
Crosse. Religious Reformed, Sermon
Only edition. Singleton tr. STC 909.5, Augsburg Confession. See
below.

STC 24462. Tyndale, W. A pathway into the holy scripture.
Religious Reformed, Bible Interpretation
Reprint of prologue of STC 2823, Tyndale's translation of the New
Testament. Latest ed. [Antwerp, 1535] See STC 2831 above.
1st ed. See 24463 below.

STC 24463. [Anr. ed.]
Religious Reformed, Bible Interpretation
Reprint of 24462 above. (May be earlier of 2 editions.)

Date: 1536-37

STC 13089a. [Panegyric of Henry VIII] End of text mentions Queen
Jane, died October 1537. Part of unidentified work.
Religious Reformed, Controversial Official.
Fragment. Only edition?

B. Imprints Attributed to John Mychell, but with Types,
Initials and Ornaments Belonging to Godfray.
(Only matches with known Godfray imprints recorded here.)

Date: 1533-34?

STC 15192.5. Langdon, T. A lytell treatyse confoundyng the great
eresyes... [In verse.]
Religious Conservative, Controversial
Canterbury, J. Mychell.
Only edition. Same types as STC 3186. Boccus and STC 21647.
Saltwood.

STC 21647. Saltwood, R. A comparyson bytwene .iiij. byrdes.
Verse, Contemporary
[Canterbury?] J. Mychel. Only edition.
Same types as STC 3186. Boccus. One initial same as Boccus.

STC 17013. Lydgate, J. Here foloweth the chorle and the byrde.
Verse, Earlier poetry
Canterbury, J. Mychel.
Title-page factotum Ferguson 204a used in STC 3186. Boccus.

Date: 1535?

STC 909.5. Augsburg Confession. The confessyon of fayth delyuered
to ye emperour Charles. tr. by R. Synglyton.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
[Canterbury? J. Mychell, 1535?] Herbert III. 1454 records a copy with
Mychell's colophon. One initial used in STC 3186. Boccus. For
Singleton see STC 22575 above, signed Godfray.

Date: 1535-36?

STC 11385. Frith, J. An other boke against Rastel named the
subsydye or bulwark to his first boke.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
One initial used in STC 3186. Boccus.

STC 11387. Frith, J. Disputacion of purgatorye.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
One initial used in STC 3186. Boccus.

STC 24447.7. Tyndale, W. Obedyence of a Chrysten man.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
Reprint of STC 24447. [Antwerp,] 1535.
Two initials used STC 1915. Thomas/Bernard. [1531?], One used in
STC 5068. Chaucer. Works. 1532; 9 used in STC 3186. Boccus.
[1530?]

STC 24445.5. Tyndale, W. The parable of the wicked mammon.
Religious Reformed, Controversial
Signed: Malborowe in the lande of Hesse, H. Luft, 1528. Title-page

border McKerrow & Ferguson 16 used in STC 7377. Du Wes. [1533?], one initial used in STC 5068. Chaucer. Works. 1532, one in STC 3186. Boccus. [1530?] Same text type as STC 16821.

Date: 1537?

STC 16820.5. The pater noster, the crede, and the commaundementes in Englyshe.

Religious Reformed, Liturgical Educational

1st 2 leaves only survive. One initial and text type as STC 16821.

STC 16821. [Anr. ed.]

Religious Reformed, Liturgical Educational

One initial used in STC 3186. Boccus. Text type same as STC 16820.5. (above) and STC 16052. Primer. Mychell. Canterbury. [1549.] Same text type as STC 24455.5 (above).

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The Plowmans tale compylled by syr Geffray Chaucer knyght. London:

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Glossary and Index

Definitions taken from *Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition on CD-ROM*. Dictionary citations to this poem noted.

See: and See also: (Roman) references to other defined words in this list.

* indicates relevant legal use noted in John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Glossary of Legal Diction*. Alford entry headings in (*Italics*.)

[] = Lines 1-36 of 1532 edition supplied by Richard Farmer in manuscript, copying from 1561 edition.

NOTE: ALPHABETIZED BY 1532 SPELLING.

RELATED WORDS ARE UNDER INITIAL DEFINITION.

Differences between the editions come mostly from the substitution of "i" for "y."

Initial "U" and "V" are listed by the 16th century spelling, but alphabetized as in modern usage, and also within words.

A

Abbottes/abbots: 64. Superior of a monastery. See also: Priours.

*Absolutioun/absolution: 347, absolution/absolution: 671, absolutyon/absolution: 987. *Absolution. Document granting remission of sins, an indulgence.*

Abye/abie: 1199, 1233. To buy, purchase, pay for. To pay the penalty for an offence, to redeem, atone for, suffer for, make amends for, expiate.

A cale/A cale: 71. Acale, cold.

*Accomptes/accompts: 778. Accounts, reckoning in moral sense.

Account. Financial record or statement; more generally, any explanation concerning the discharge of responsibilities.

Accydent/accident: 1222. Accidence. See also: Subgette. Part of grammar dealing with inflections of words.

Admyrall/admirall: 194. (A) An emir or prince under the Sultan. (B) Form of admirable.

A ferde/aferd: 433. Afraid.

Afray/afraie: 859. Frighten. See: fraie.

Agadred/agadred: 1335. Gathered, assembled. *Plowman's Tale* only example cited.

Agramed/agramed: 343. Angry, vexed, furious.

Agryse/agrise: 360, 841, 961, 1216. To shudder with terror or abhorrence; to dread, abhor, loathe.

Agylted/agilted: 1308. To be guilty towards, to sin against, to offend, wrong.

Ale. See also: Nale.

Alexaunder/Alexander: 335. Alexander the Great.

Almesse/almes: 301, almesse/almesse: 513. Charitable relief of the poor, charity.

*Amende/amend: 484, 492, 500, 508, 516, 524, 532, 540, 548, 556, 564, 572, 580, 588, 596, 604, 612, 620, 628, 636, 644, 660, 668, 676, 684, 692, 700, 708, 716, 823, 849, 1255, 1291, 1300, 1316, 1324, 1378. *Amenden: To pay for, satisfy, give amends; to make satisfaction for one's sins. To set right, correct or reform.*

*Amerced/amerced: 1023. *Amercen: To fine somebody 'at the mercy' i.e., at the discretion, of the court.*

And/and: 389, 1085. If.

And/and: 389, 1085. If.

Angell/angell: 226. Angel.

Angre/anger: 504. Angerliche/angerliche: 646. Angry/angrie: 1015.

*Answer/answer: 410, 646; answer for/answer for: 1176.

Answerd/answered: 1285. *Answeren: To make a defence in response to a charge or accusation..*

Antichrist/Antichrist: 191, 194, 493, 541, 552, 813, 815, 847, 920.

Antichristes/Antichrists: 923; Antichristes preestes/Antichrists priests: 956.

Apostels/Apostles: 208, 437, 613, 705.

Aray/array: 134. Arranged in battle order.

Array/array: 329, aray/araie: 760, array/array: 817. Display.

Ars/ars: 939. Arse.

Askes/askes: 943. Ashes.

*Assoyle/assoile: 866. To assoil a person. See also: Soile. *Assoilen: To free from excommunication or other ecclesiastical sentence..*

*Assyse/assise: 843. See also: Ensis. *Sise: An assize, a trial in which sworn assessors or jurymen decide questions of fact.*

Astarte/astart: 1350. To start up. To start off, get away, escape.

Attyred/attired: 192, 195. Equipped for war, armed.

[Auowe]/a uow: 29, auowe/auow: 1374.

Axe/aske: 884. Ask.

Aye/aie: 862. Egg.

B

Baighted. See *beted*. Baited.

Balefull/balefull: 120, 1234. Full of malign, deadly or noxious influence, pernicious.

Balke/balke: 488. A ridge between two furrows, or a strip of ground left unploughed as a boundary line between two ploughed portions.

Ball, horse ball/horse ball: 402. Horse's testicle.

Baselardes/baselardes: 918. A species of dagger or hanger, usually worn at the girdle.

Bateyle/battaile: 111.

Baudrike/audrike: 918. A belt or girdle, usually of leather and richly ornamented, worn pendent from one shoulder.

Behynde/behinde: 480. Of following in time, later.

Bell/bell: 166; belles/bels: 40. Bell.

Bellyall/Beliall: 234. Satanic personification of wickedness and ungodliness. See 2 *Corinthians* 6:15.

Benet, Saynt Benet/Saint Benet: 993, 1011, Benette/Benet: 1020, 1049, Saynt Benette/Saint Benett: 1053, Saynt Benet/Saint Benet: 1055; Saynt Benetts/Saint Benets: 1038. Saint Benedict, founder of the most ancient form of western monasticism, author of the *Benedictine Rule*.

Bere/bere: 648. Bear. Bear-baiting, the sport of setting dogs to attack a bear chained to a stake. See: *beted*.

Be stedde/bested: 403. See *stedes*. Placed, located, settled.

Beted/baighted: 648. See: *bere*.

Beters/beaters: 871. Market beaters. One who beats or walks the streets.

Betray/betraie: 848; betrayde/betraied: 940. See: Traie, traien.

Blame/blame: 1363. Reproof or censure.

Blende/blende: 852. Blinded. Blent/blent: 771. Blinded.

Blesse/blesse: 96, 173, 915. Blesses/blessed: 173. Blesses, 1532, misprint. Blessyng/blessing: 182.

Blode/blood: 1121, 1219, 1271, 1296.

[Blynde]/blind: 32. Blind. See: blent.

Blysse/bliss: 233, 612. Beatitude of the blessed in heaven.

Body, Lordes body/Lords body: 1160, 1217. Eucharistic bread.

Boke/booke: 595, boke/boke: 863, 1241; bokes/boke: 166. Book.

*Bonde/bond: 681. Bonds, fetters.

Bondmen/bondmen: 1009. Men in bondage, villeins, serfs. See: thrall. *Bondemen: Tenants of a lord.*

Bosardes/buzzards: 1337. Buzzards.

Boure/boure: 120. Bower.

Boystous/boistous: 139, 1052. Of persons etc.: rough, rude, untaught, rustic, coarse, unpolished.

Brayeng bell/braying bell: 166.

Brede/brede: 1220. Eucharistic bread. See: Body.

Breed/bread: 204. Bread.

Brende/brend: 634, 674, 682; brent/brent: 827, 1234. Burned, burning.

*Bribry/brybry: 323, brybry/briberie: 1315. Bribery. *Bribour: Thief or robber, especially by fraudulent means; an impostor..*

Broches/broches: 904, broches/brooches: 1006. Ornamental fastening for fastening some part of the dress.

Bucklers/bucklers: 917. Small round shield.

But/but: 262, 280. Introducing a condition: If not, unless, except.

Buylde/builde: 743. Buylden/builden: 120. See also *bygge*.

*Bydde/bid: 1094. Beden. To ask pressingly, beg, entreat, pray. *Beden: Petition for mercy.*

Bygge/bigge: 475. To erect, rear, pile up. See also: Buylde.

Bynde and lose/binde and lose: 237. See *Matthew 16:18-19*.

Byrde/bird: 977. A maiden, girl (Confused with burd, perhaps also with bride.)

Byrde/bird: 1309; byrdes/birds: 1296, 1310. Bird.

Byshoppe/bishop: 402, 945, 985. Byshoppes/bishops: 353, 391, 405, 685, 829, 957.

Byte/bite: 1028.

C

Call/call: 338. Caul, close-fitting cap worn by women.

Candels/candles: 40. Candles.

*Canons/canons: 310, 1062. A clergyman (including clerks in minor orders) living with others in a clergy-house, ordering his life according to the rules or canons of the church. See also: Chanons. *Canon. Quotations from "Piers Plowman" show "canon" as canon secular and "chanon" as canon regular.*

Cardynall/cardinall: 314, 456, 1225. Cardinals/cardinals: 62, 310, 829. Prince of the Church. Member of Council from which Pope elected.

Careckes/careckes: 542. Character. The face or features; personal appearance.

Carke/carke: 250, 1123. To load, burden the spirit, trouble; to be anxious, to be full of anxious thought.

Case, in case/in case: 613. In fact.

Cast/cast: 1329. To resolve in the mind, devise, contrive, purpose, plan.

Catche/catch: 737. In catchyng/in catching: 856, 1017.

*Catell/cattell: 109, 250, cattell /cattle: 385, 856, catell/cattell: 1137. Capital, principal sum of money; beast held in possession, livestock. *Catel: Article of personal property as opposed to real property..*

Cathedrals/cathedrals: 313. Principal church of a diocese containing bishop's *cathedra* or throne.

Caytyffes/catiffes: 71, caytyves/cattiues: 291. Caitiff. Originally a captive or prisoner; expressing commiseration.

Chaffren/chaffren: 146. Traffic, trade, buying and selling, dealing.

*Chanons/chanons: 830, 1062, chanons clepen seculere/chanons clepen seculere: 717. See also: Canon. *Canon.*

Chantours/chantours: 870. A singer, musician.

Charite/charitee: 110, charyte/charite: 689, charite/charite: 796, charyte/charite: 948, charite/charity: 1127, charite/charite: 1180, 1188, 1249. Love in the New Testament. Christian love of fellowman.

Chastyte/chastitie: 515. Purity from unlawful sexual intercourse, continence.

Cherelyche/churchliche: 1050. 1532-5: cherelyche, cheerly, cheerful.
1606: churchlike.

Choweth/throweth: 258. 1532-5: choweth, variant chew. 1606: throw.

Christ/Christ: 90, 95, 98, 123, 208, 219, 222, 229, 243, 245, 297,
313, 437, 443, 462, 514, 539, 549, 562, 568, 570, 573, 582, 590,
597, 598, 599, 600, 606, 610, 615, 629, 818, 838, 915, 1111, 1223,
1226, 1253, 1293, 1378

Christ for vs that shedde his blode/Christ for vs that shed his blood:
1121; Christ her kyng/Christ her king: 429, 1104; Christ his god
royall/Christ his God royal: 458; Christ that suffred woundes
wete/Christ that suffered wounds wete: 467.

Christ, curteys Christ/curteis Christ: 482

Christes/Christs: 165, 189, 255.

Christes aduersary/Christs aduersarie: 494; Christes Apostels/Christs
Apostles: 705; Christes byddyng/Christs bidding: 496;

Christes christen creatures/Christes christen creatures: 446;

Christes commaundement/Christs commandement: 210, Christes
commaundement/Christes commaundement: 254, 822; Christes false
traytours/Christs false traitours: 804; Christes frendes/Christes
friends: 534; Christes gospell/Christs gospell: 703; Christes
loue/Christs loue: 421, 431, 1038; Christes lyfe/Christs life: 501;
Christes membres/Christs members: 255; Christes name/Christs
name: 806; Christes owne lykenesse/Christes awne likenesse: 910;
Christes people/Christs people: 235, Christs people/Christs people:
499; Christes pouer/Christes pouert: 782; Christs pouerty/Christs
pouerty: 1025; Christes sake/Christs sake: 406; Christes say/Christs
saie: 864; Christs sheepe/Christs sheepe: 1280; Christes tales/Christs
tales: 506.

Christen/christen: 446, 449, chrysten/christen: 1166;

Christned/Christened: 101. Christian.

Christen/preest/Christen priest: 545.

Churche/church: 278, 1083.

Church, holy churche/holy church: 143, 1077, 1095, 1101, 1242,
1273, 1377.

Churches/churches: 146, 262, 283, 765, 853. (Plural).

Churches, holy churches: 1132 (Possessive).

Churchlike, Cherelyche/churchliche: 1050. (See note at: cherelyche).
Churlyche/churchliche: 1051. (See note at: churlyche).

Churlyche/churchliche: 1051. Churlyche, 1532, churlish, relating to the churl. Rustic, common, vulgar, mean. Churchliche, 1606, churchlike.

Clene/cleane: 346, 1105, 1130. Not soiled.

Clene/clene: 191, 771, 923, 1014, 1059.

Clene, seruen clene/seruen clene: 191. With nouns of action, completely; without any exception.

Clepen/clepen: 189, 201, 229, 230; cleped/cleped: 442, 443. To name, call by name.

*Clerke/clerke: 394; clerkes/clerkes: 33, 1021. Man in religious orders; cleric or clergyman. *Clerk: the general name given to virtually any officer of the judicial system, lay or cleric, whose duties required or involved a certain level of literacy..*

Cloystre/cloyster: 22. Cloister. Enclosed place; place of religious seclusion.

Clyppen/clippen: 927. To clasp with the armes, embrace, hug.

Coffers/coffers: 471

Cofren vp/cofren up: 107. To enclose in, or as in, a coffer; to lay up securely; to hoard, to treasure up. *Piers Plowman's Crede*, 68.

Colde/cold: 422, 914, 1036, 1154. See *a cale*.

Come/conne: 842. Come, 1532, misprint.

Comforte/comfort: 856. Pleasure, enjoyment.

Commandement, Christs commaundement/Christs commandement: 210, 254, 822. Commaundementes/commandementes: 633. Tenne commaundyments/ten commaundements: 1202.

Commaunded/commaunded: 1226.

Commen/common: 136; by commen assent/by common assent: 257.

Commynalte/comminalte: 654. Commonalty. People of a nation, community.

Comprehende/comprehend: 514. To overtake, come up with and seize.

Conne (1606): 842. To know.

Connyng/cunning: 1190. Possessing knowledge of a subject.

Conneth/conneth: 1339.

Conquerours/conquerours: 938.

Conscience/conscience: 371, 1130, 1172. Internal conviction.

*Consistory/consistorie: 880. Council chamber (ecclesiastical.)

Consistorie: Court of a diocese for adjudication under canon law, bishop's court..

Contrary/contrarie: 496, contrary/contrary: 501, 606;

contaryen/contrarien: 936. Contaryen, 1532, misprint.

Contynence/continence: 521. Self-restraint.

[Coulter]/coulter: 7. Iron blade fixed in front of the share in a plow.

Counsylour/counsailour: 131; counsaylours/counsailours: 601.

Counten/counten: 927. To make account of, think of, care for.

Countyng/counting: 790

Countours/countours: 802. Legal pleader or sarjeant-at-law.

*Countrefete/counterfete: 709. Counterfeytours/counterfaitours: 1061.

Countrefeten: To contrive (deceit, murder, treason.)

Countrey/country: 78.

Couere/couere: 207. Cower: to stand or squat in a bent position; to crouch.

Courser/courser: 184, 1004. War horse, ridden by the nobility.

Courtes/courtes: 1021. Courts of law. Court holdyng/courtholding: 790.

Couetyse/couetise, 131, 358, 384, 511, 622, 627, 774, 1026, 1214, 1231. Ardent, excessive, or inordinate desire; lust.

Couetours/couetours: 105. One who covets or is given to coveting.

Couytous/couetous: 385; couetous/couetous: 797, 1017.

Crafte/craft: 358. Strength, power, force.

Crafty/craftie: 1017. Skilful, clever, ingenious.

Crallyt/crallit: 186. Bent, curved, twisted, curled. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Crede/crede: 413, 455, 1066. From Latin, *Credo*, I believe. Form of words setting forth the general belief of the Christian church, those articles of belief considered essential.

Crockettes/crockettes: 306. Curl or roll of hair, ringlet.

Crouche/crouch: 942. Cross in its various early senses.

Crowne/croune: 105, 1231. Crown.

Croyser/croisery: 445. Crusade.

Crye/crie: 1109. Lamrnt.

Culleth/culleth: 267, 593, 1314. Choose, select, pick.

*Curates/curates: 719. One entrusted with cure of souls of a parish.
Curatour: One having the cure of souls.

*Cure/cure: 1150, 1173; cure: 1174. Cure of soule/cure of soule: 729. Spiritual charge of a parish. *Cura animarum: the exercise of a*

clerical office involving the instruction, by sermons and admonitions, and the sanctification, through the sacraments, of the faithful in a determined district, by a person legitimately appointed for the purpose.

Curious/curious: 105, curyous/curious: 186, 384, curious/curious: 1013. Difficult to satisfy, particular, nice, fastidious.

*Curse/curse: 38, 165, 174, 567, 1054. Cursed/cursed: 174, 1241.

Cursyng/cursing: 172, 1246, 1263. Cursen/cursen: 264, 445.

Acursen: To sentence or condemn, to excommunicate.

Cursedly/cursedly: 622. Opposite of bless; to damn.

Curteys/curteis: 482. Having such manners as befit the court of a prince, graciously polite and respectful of the position and feelings of others.

Cyte/cite: 743. City.

D

Dame, to dame/to dame: 1362. As mother.

Damosels/damosels: 928. Diminutive of Latin *domina*, young unmarried lady.

*Dampne/damne: 38, 163, 239, 630, 634. Dampneth/damneth: 224.

To damn. See: Curse. *Dampnen: To convict, to condemn to death; to condemn to purgatory or hell.*

Dates/dates: 67. Time at which anything takes place. See: Dawe.

Daunce/daunce: 928. Dance.

Dawe/dawe: 643. Days. The time during which anything exists or takes place; period, time, era.

Debate/debate: 874. Strife, contention, wrangling.

*Decre/decre: 946. Ordinance or edict set forth by authority,

especially edict or law of ecclesiastical council. *Decree: Body of canon law.*

Dedde, to dedde/to dedde: 163. Death. See: Deed, Dethe.

Dede/deed: 206, 349, 816; Dedes: 921, 969. Deed.

Deed/ded: 198, dede/dede: 738. Dead.

Defame/defame: 811. To bring ill favor, infamy, or dishonor upon.

Defence/defence: 518, 1132.

Defende/defend: 1084. To guard from attack, protect, vindicate.

Defende/defend: 570, 698. Forbid.

Defended/defended: 1115. Forbad.

Defye/defie: 115. Repudiate or disavow.

Degree/degree: 112, 691, degre/degree: 1375. Hye degre/high degree: 1186. Lowe degree/low degree: 103.

Dele/deale: 1195. Part, amount, fraction.

*Demyn/demen: 510; deme/demen: 645; demen/demen: 714. To give or pronounce judgment; to sentence, doom, or condemn.

Demed/deemed: 67. See: Dome. *Demen: To preside over a court, to judge.*

Despaire, in dispeyre/in despaire: 391. In to dispayre/into despaire: 1311. To cease to hope for; to be without hope of.

Dethe/death: 451. Death. See: Dedde.

Deuyll/deuill: 771, dyuell/deuill: 852, 932, 1140, 1151, deuyll/deuill: 1205, 1371; Dyuell of hell/deuill of hell: 1059

Dight/dight: 894. To array, adorn. Dighteth/dight: 978. To prepare, make ready (food or a meal); to cook.

Disease/disease: 1260. Absence of ease, uneasiness, discomfort;

inconvenience, annoyance.

Disgyssed/disguised: 1062. Changed from usual, disfigured.

Dishonours/dishonours: 451. Ignominy, disgrace.

Dispence/dispence: 523. Dispende/dispense: 522.

Dispended/dispense: 762. To spend to no purpose, waste, squander.

Dispyse/despise: 1368.

Dispyte/despise: 579; in dispyte/in despite: 712.

Disseuered/disseuered: 1242. Divided, separated.

Distaunce/distaunce: 1166. Condition of being at variance; discord, disagreement.

*Dome/dome: 163, 533; Done/dome: 198. Done, 1532, misprint for dome. *Dom: A judicial decision, a sentence at law.*

*Domes day/domes day: 331, Domes daye/Domes day: 763; 819. At dome/At dome: 787. Doom, doomsday. The day of the Last Judgment, the end of the secular world. *Domesdai.*

Doule/doule: 1272. State of being divided.

Draw, to drawe/to draw: 1237. Drawn and quartered, the worst civil punishment, reserved for traitors.

Dredefull/dreadfull: 763, 819. Inspiring dread or reverence.

Dressen/dressen: 379. To make straight or right, to bring into proper order, to array, make ready, prepare.

Drought/drought: 1035.

Drynke/drinke: 432, 1000, drinke/drinke: 874, 1003.

Duke/duke: 861. Duck.

Dust/dust: 43. Small particles separated from the grain in the milling process.

Dykyng/diking: 1043. Digging ditches, and making earthen walls to keep out water. A lesser agricultural skill than plowing. See: Thresshyng.

Dysclaunder/disclaunder: 333, disclaunder/disclaunder: 1053.

Disclaundrest/disclaundrest: 1273. To speak evil of, so as to expose to opprobrium; to slander.

Dyuers/Diues: 533. Divers, 1532, different or not alike. Dives, 1606, the rich man in the parable of Luke 16:19-31. Not correctly a proper name, but simply the Latin for *rich*.

E

Eggeth/eggeth: 121. To incite, encourage, urge on.

Eke/eke: 744, 775, 1005, 1312. Also, moreover, in addition.

Emperour/emperour: 126, 693.

Emprise/emprise: 960. An undertaking, enterprise; a purpose, intent.

Enemyes/enemies: 273, 1063.

Englande/England: 637.

Englysshe/English. 478.

Enplede/emplede: 734. Implead. Sue a person in a court of law.

*Ensyse/ensise: 625. Defined at Assise. *Assise, Sise*.

Entent/entent: 679; ententes/tents: 1159. Attention, heed, care. Tents, 1606, probably misprint.

Enuy/enuie: 263, enuy/enuy: 447, enuy/enuie: 513, 775. In clene enuye/in cleane enuie: 1142. Malignant or hostile feeling; illwill, malice, enmity.

Enuyous/enuious: 382, 1015.

Erle/erle: 793. Earl. Typical designation of a great noble.

Erne/earne: 28. Earn.

Erthe/earth: 1328; in erthe/in earth: 217, 233, 538, 691, 1052, 1319, 1323. On erthe/on earth: 629, 720. Vnder the erthe/vnder the earth: 1355.

Erthly/earthly: 104, 405, erthlye/earthly: 118, erthely/earthly: 1364.

Estate, hye estate/high estate: 1259. Estates, hye estates/high estates: 416. State or condition in general.

Euangely/euangely: 97. Evangelist.

F

Fabel/fable: 1376. Fictitious narrative or statement.

Face/face: 714.

[Fain]/faine: 33. Glad, well pleased.

Fayne/fain: 818. Feign.

Fall/fall: 477, 815, 847.

Fals/fals: 312. Falsely (adverb.)

False/false: 148, 156, 236, 252, 276, 340, 348, 356, 372, 396, 412, 420, 428, 444, 452, 460, 476, 804, 805, 826, 1184, false/fals: 831, false/fals: 1116. Falsely/falsely: 341, 595, falsly/falsely: 810, 811, 818, 924, 940, 967.

Falser/falser: 59, 60, 78, 84, 536.

Falshed/falshed: 68, 76, 92, 108, 132, 140, 188, 204, 244, 260, 268, 284, 316, 324, 388, 468, 1071, 1136, falshede/falshed: 1248.

Father/father: 1114. Fathers/fathers: 1032, 1035.

Fayre, at fayre/at fair: 873. Periodic gathering of buyers and sellers, often with shows and entertainment.

*Faytours/faitours: 148, 156, 164, 196, 300, 308, 327, 364, 372, 436, 444, 460. Impostors, cheats. *Faitour: An impostor or cheat, especially a beggar who fwigns injury or disease.*

Febel/feeble: 5, feble/feeble: 916, 960, 1356. Of inferior quality, poor, mean.

Fee/fee: 337, 659, 794. From Latin, *feudum*. Estate in land, in England always heritable, held on condition of homage to a superior lord, by whom it is granted and with whom ownership remains. Laye fee/lay fee: 686, Fee held for non-clerical duties. *Plowman's Tale* cited, lay fee.

Fele/fele: 1136. Feel.

Fell/fell: 63, fel/fell: 859, fele/fele: 1333. Fell, cruel.

*Felowe/fellow: 974. *Felawe: An associate in crime, an accomplice or accessory.*

*Fellowshypp/fellowship: 1340. *Felawship: A band of fellows..*

Fendes/fiends: 536, fendes/fendes: 1165. Fiends.

Fere/fere: 723. Companion.

In fere/in fere: 1212. In company, together, in common.

*Ferme, to ferme/to ferme: 325, 725. To lease. *Ferme, Haven to Ferme: To have the use or revenues of something in return for a fixed payment.*

Fettes/fettes: 471. (A) Verb to feat, to equip, furnish, make fit.(B) Fat, a vessel of a large size.

[Finde]/find: 30. To supply, provide, furnish. See: Fyndyng.

Flyte/flite: 1022. Flite, plead.

Flyght/flight: 1360. Flight.

Fode/food: 1008, 1123. Food.

Folde/fold: 425, 707. Sheepfold, enclosure.

Fone/foen: 1298. Foes, enemies.

Fongeth/fongeth: 967. Fand, Fond. To put to the test, try. To have experience of, to make experiment with.

Font/font: 278. Baptismal font.

Forbode/forbode: 1315. A forbidding; a prohibition, interdiction.

Fordone/fordone: 631. Fordo, foredo. To abolish an institution, to annul a law.

*Fornicatioun/fornication: 669. Voluntary sexual intercourse between man and unmarried woman. *Fornicatour. One of the main concerns of the ecclesiastical courts was the punishment of fornicators.*

[Forswat]/forswat: 14. Sweaty. From verb to sweat.

[Forswonke]/forswonke: 14. Over-worked. From verb to swink.

Forthren/forthren: 1080. To further. To help forward, assist.

Foule/foule: 60, 68, 76, 84, 92, 108, 116, 148, 156, 164, 180, 188, 196, 204, 236, 244, 252, 260, 268, 276, 284, 300, 308, 316, 324, 332, 340, 348, 356, 364, 372, 388, 396, 403, 404, 412, 420, 428, 436, 444, 452, 460, 468, 476, 1097. Foul (adjective.) Morally or spiritually polluted; abominable, detestable, wicked.

Foule/foule: 852, 1064, 1273. Foully (adverb.)

Foulyn/foulen: 864. To foul (verb.)

Foule/foule: 1305, 1321; foules/foules: 83, 1328, 1331, 1333, 1335, 1345. Bird.

*Free/free: 1350. *Fre: Frr from servitude, having the social status of a freeman.*

Frende/frend: 626. Fremd. Foreign. Like a stranger, estranged, unfriendly.

Freundes/frends: 1167, freundes/friends: 1298. Friends.
Frendshyp/friendship: 417.

Freres/freres: 63, 127, 1065. Friars. Members of religious order;
chiefly used of mendicants.

Fresshe/fresh: 873, 1369. Gaily attired, finely dressed.

Fretes/fretes: 151. To eat. *Piers Plowman's Crede*, 729: They freten
up the furste froyt & falsliche lybbeth.

Fully (1606): 1369.

*Fyndyng/finding: 794. Keep, maintenance, provision, support.
Finding: That which is provided for sustenance and support.

G, See also Y

Game/game: 354. Play, sport, amusement.

Gate/gate, heauen gate: 876. See also: Yate.

Gaye/gay: 136, 170, 187, gay/gaie: 758, 925; Gone full gay/gone full
gay: 353. Bright or lively looking, showy.
Gayly/gailly: 894.

Gederyng/gadering: 733. To accumulate wealth.

*Gentyll/gentle: 1074. Well born, belonging to a family of position.
Gentilman: The highest rank of free persons below the nobility.

Gerde/gard: 1340. Gird. To impel or move hastily. See: Igared.

Gesse/gesse: 170. (A) To form an approximate judgement, or (B) To
be or become a guest.

Gest/gest: 747. Guest. One who is entertained at the house or table of
another.

Gestes/gests: 531. From Latin *res gestae*, stories, tales; mention.

Gete/get: 275, gete/geat: 785. To get. Geat, 1606, probably misprint.

Gledes/gledes: 1337. Gled. The kite (*Milvus regalis*), a bird of prey.

Glose/glose: 595, 842, 1145, 1155; by glose/by glose: 1203. Gloss. A word inserted between the lines or in the margin as an explanatory equivalent of a foreign or otherwise difficult word. Superficial luster. In obvious figurative uses, a deceptive appearance, fair semblance, plausible pretext.

Glosed/glosed: 312. Glosyng/glosing: 1139. To talk smoothly and speciously.

[God]/God: 31, 129, 200, 225, 227, 251, 307, 357, 360, 433, 487, 492, 500, 508, 516, 519, 524, 532, 538, 546, 556, 558, 564, 572, 580, 588, 591, 596, 602, 604, 612, 644, 652, 660, 668, 676, 684, 690, 692, 708, 711, 716, 787, 803, 809, 848, 849, 980, 1047, 1072, 1098, 1107, 1129, 1151, Good/God: 1180 (Good, 1532, a misprint), 1184, 1229, 1247, 1280, 1284, 1287, 1292, 1300, 1316, 1324, 1332. God almighty/God almighty: 636.

God, almighty god/almighty god: 620, 628; hye god/high God: 487, 779.

Gods/God: 363; Goddes/gods: 488, Goddes/Gods: 747, Goddis/Gods: 762, Goddes/Gods: 810, 811, 831, Goddis/Gods: 924, 961, Goddes/Gods: 1063, 1069, 1102, Goddis/Goddes: 1155.

Goddis forbode/Gods forbode: 1315; Goddis goodesse/Gods goods: 967; Goddes gospell/Gods Gospell: 931; Goddis grace/Gods grace: 1308, 1364; Goddes lawe/Gods law: 363, 1239; Goddes poore/Gods poore: 531; Goddes prestes/Gods priests: 888; Goddes worde/Gods word: 547; Goddis wordes/Gods words: 1187.

Golde/gold: 134, 159, 161, 162, 185, 187, 211, 470, 1106.

Golden/golden: 138.

Gonge/gong: 152. Privy.

Good/good: 747, good/goods: 759, 762, 1073, 1118, 1171, good/God: 1180 (Good, 1532, a misprint for God), gode/good: 1297. Goods, goddis goodes/Gods goods: 924, Goddis goodesse/Gods goods: 967; hye goodes/high goods: 417; worlds goodes/worlds

goods: 839

Goodnesse/goodnesse: 524; Goddes goodnesse/gods goodnesse: 1069

Goostly/ghostly: 1118, gostly/ghostly: 1363. Spiritual.

Gospell/Gospell: 312, 415, 491, 935, 1226.

Gospell boke/Gospell booke: 595.

Gospell, Christes gospell/Christs gospell: 703; Goddes gospell/Gods Gospell: 931.

Gouernayle/gouernaile: 1078. Method or function of government.

Gouernour/gouernour: 129; gouernours/gouernours: 360. Ruler.

Gownes/gounes: 925. Gown. Loose, flowing upper garment worn as article of ordinary attire.

Grace/grace: 393, 1284, 1292, 1300, 1316, 1324, 1332, 1372, 1380.

Grace of God. Goddis grace/gods grace: 1308, 1364.

Grace/grace: 1348, 1356, 1372. Mercy, as distinguished from right.

Grace, harde grace/hard grace: 1276

Her grace/her grace: 1340: High position or dignity.

Grame, goddis grame/: 961. Anger, wrath, ire.

Great/great: 57, 64, 107, grete/grete: 991. Gretter/greater: 828.

Greetnesse/greatnesse: 711.

Gree/gree: 334. Weeping, mourning.

Greue/griue: 1133. To grow angry.

Ground, to ground/to ground: 667. Ground, vngrounde/on ground: 57. See: Vngrounde.

Gruche/grutch: 886, gruche/groche: 1164. Murmur, complain, grumble.

Gryffon/griffon: 86, 91, 1073, 1133, 1233, 1269, 1277, 1301, 1327, 1333, 1344, 1352. Fabulous animal, with the head and wings of an

eagle and the body and hindquarters of a lion.

Grymme/grimme: 86. Formidable in appearance or demeanour; of stern, forbidding or harsh aspect, unbending disposition. *Piers Plowman's Crede*, 222.

Grypen/gripen: 667. Grasp firmly.

Gryth/grith: 247. Guaranteed security; protection, defence, safe conduct.

Gygges/gigges: 759. A flighty, giddy girl. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Gyrdels/girdles: 138. Belt worn around the waist.

Gyues/gives: 651. A shackle, especially for the leg; a fetter.

H

Habyte/habite: 1184. Dress or mode of attire characteristic of particular rank, especially of a religious order. The habit: monastic order or profession.

Hale/hale: 872. Haul.

Halke/halke: 489. A corner, recess, hiding place. See Speght. *Chaucer's Works*, 1598. Address to Chaucer. "Where hast thou dwelt good Geffrey al this while? In haulkes, and herne, God wot, and in exile."

Halowe/halow: 277. To make holy, sanctify.

*Hanged/hanged: 1236, honged/hanged: 1237. To execute by strangulation suspended by rope. See also: Honged at the plowe. *Hangen*.

Harde/hard: 798. *Piers Plowman*, C. "Aren none hardur ne hongryour than men of holy churche."

Hardy/hardy: 884. Bold, courageous, daring.

Harlotry/harlotrie: 773, harlotry/harlotry: 959, 1100. Harlotry.

Buffoonery, jesting; ribaldry, scurrility, scurrilous talk.

Harlottes/harlots: 304, harlottes/harlottes: 333. A vagabond, beggar, rogue, rascal.

Hate/hate: 454. Hight. To call by name, to name, to be called.

Hate, worldes hate/worlds hate: 1257. Hatred.

Hauke/hawke: 1105. Hawk (bird).

Haunten/haunten: 286. To resort habitually; to stay or remain usually (in a place); to associate (with a person.)

Hawe/hawe: 304. Fruit of the hawthorn, inedible.

Heale/heale: 408, hele/heale: 1193. Heal.

Hedde/head: 158, heed/head: 201, 205, 280, 1077, 1089, 1111.

Head. Neddes/heads: 1112 (Neddes, 1532 misprint for heddes).

Hede/heed: 408. Heed. Careful attention, care.

Helle/hell: 38; hell/hell: 168, 292, 366, 567, 1140, 1243.

Hell, dyuell of hell/deuill of hell: 1059.

Hell, of helle the yate/of hell the yates: 65; key of hell/key of hell: 377; keyes of hell yates/keyes of hell yates: 419.

Hente/hent: 555. To seize, grasp.

Heresy/heresie: 632, 641, 836, 1145. Theological or religious opinion held in opposition or contrary to official doctrine.

Hernes/hernes: 489. A corner, nook, or hiding place. See Speght. *Chaucer's Works*, 1598. Address to Chaucer. "Where hast thou dwelt good Geffrey al this while? In haulkes, and herne, God wot, and in exile."

Hestes/hestes: 209, 526, 631; hestes/heestes: 1155. Bidding, command, injunction, behest.

Heue/heaue: 872. To lift, raise, bear up.

Heuyn/heaue: 65, 100, 168, 290, heuen/ heauen: 298, heuyn/heuen: 366. Heaven. Heuyn/Heuen: 611. Heaven's.

Heaven, of heuyn the yate/of heauen the yates: 65. Heuyn gate/Heauen gate: 876.

*Hode/hood: 1006; furred hoode/furred hood: 296. *Paveloun: The fur-lined cloak worn by a serjeant-at-law.*

Holde/Hold: 475. A fortified place of defence, fort or fortres.

Hole/hole: 740. Whole. Here, hale, in good health.

Holy: 46, 238. See: Sanctus.

Holy churche/Holy church: 142, 1077, 1095, 1101, 1242, 1273, 1377. Holy churches/holy churches: 1132. Holy/holy curse: 1054.

Holy gospels/Holy Gospel: 935.

Holyest/Holiest: 201. See: Sanctissimus.

Honest/honest: 1102, 1105. Of persons: held in honour, holding an honourable position; respectable.

Honeste/honeste: 1129. Honesty. Honorable character in a wide general sense.

Honestly/honestly: 1107.

Honged at the plowe/hanged at the plowe: 1041. See: Hanged.

Hoke/hooke: 592. Shepherd's crook, figuratively the bishop's pastoral staff.

Hoppen/hoppen: 872. To leap or dance.

Hore/hore: 143. Whore. Horedome/horedome: 773.

Horowe/horow: 1097. Horowe, hory. Filthy, foul, dirty; slanderous. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Houndes/hounds: 1005. Dogs kept for hunting.

Houselyn/houselin: 1211. Houseling. The action of the verb housel; administration of the Eucharist; communion.

Houten/houten: 872. To shout, call out.

Humylte/humilte: 1131. Quality of being humble, lowliness. Opposite of pride.

Hungry/Hungrie: 798. Having the sensation of hunger. Having or characterized by a strong desire or craving; eager; greedy; avaricious. *Piers Plowman*, C. "Aren none hardur ne hongryour than men of holy churche." Hungry meles/hungrie meales: 1036. Meals eaten with hunger. First example in *OED*, 1532.

Hye/high: 113, 133, 251, hyghe/high: 694, 1181, 1186, 1259, 1262, 1375.

High flewe/High flew: 1306. High flown. Hye god/hye god: 487, Hye/high god: 779.

Higher/higher: 126. Hyghest/highest: 217.

On hye/On hie: 1111.

Highnes/highnes: 116, hyghnesse/highnese: 1230.

Hyte/higher: 1023 (Hyte, 1532, misprint for hye.).

Hye/hie: 1336. (Verb). Mount up, ascend; hasten, speed.

[Hyne]/Hine: 26. Hind, farm servant, agricultural laborer.

Hypocrisy/ypocrisie: 803, hypocrisy/hypocrisie: 1147.

Hyre/hire: 277, 1152. Hyereth/hireth: 265; To engage or induce to do something by a payment or reward; to bribe.

Hyred men/hired men: 427. Opprobrious. The "hirelings" of *John 10:11-12*, in the King James Version of the Bible.

I/J, See also Y

Iaye/iaie: 791. Jay (bird.)

Iangleth/iangleth: 791. Jangleth; jangle. To talk excessively or noisily; said also of birds. Often applied contemptuously to ordinary speaking.

Ibrent, [Sunne ibrent]/sunne ibrent: 18. Sunburnt. Tanned. *Plowman's Tale* cited, first use.

Iclepeth/icleped: 73. Called. See: Cleped.

Igared/Igurde: 1336. I-gurd. Gird. To impel or move hastily or rudely. To move suddenly or rapidly; to rush, start, spring. See: Gerde.

In fere/in fere: 1212. In company, together, in common.

Inne/inn: 977. A dwelling-place, habitation, abode, lodging.

Iohn/Iohn: 226. John the Evangelist, disciple of Jesus, was traditionally taken to be the author of the fourth gospel, the epistles of John, and the Book of Revelation. See *Revelation* 22: 8-9.

Iohn/Iohn: 441. John, as the beloved disciple, to whom Jesus entrusted his mother at the crucifixion. See *Luke* 19:26-27.

Iohnnes/Iohns: 193. John, as author of the epistles of John. See *1 John* 2:18.

Ioynt/ioint: 220.

Ipaynted/ipainted: 135. Painted.

Iperled/ipearled: 158. Decorated with pearls.

[Ipente]/ypent: 22. Penned up. See: Pende, Pynde.

Iudas/Iudas: 615. Judas Iscariot. Disciple, thief and betrayer of Christ.

K

Kende/kende: 482. To make known, to impart the knowledge of anything, to each one something.

Kepe/keepe: 1283. To take in with the eyes, ears, or mind; to take note of, mark, behold, observe.

Keepe, ytake kepe/ytaken keepe: 1281.

Key/key: 365, 374, kay/kay: 597; key of hell/key of hell: 377; heuyn kay/heaven kaie: 865; Peters key/Peters kay: 675, Peters key/Peters key: 892.

Keyes of hell yates/Keyes of hell yates: 419; Keyes of heuyn gate/kaies of heauen gate: 876.

Knyfe/knife: 241. Knife.

Knyght/knight: 136, 1004. One raised to honorable military rank by the king or other qualified person.

Kyme, sely kyme/Silly kime: 695. Kyme. A simpleton, fool.
Plowman's Tale only example cited.

Kyng/king: 184, 429, 461, kynge/king: 638, kyng/king: 653, 683, kyng/king: 700, 724, kyng/king: 793, 828, 998.

Christ her kyng/Christ her king: 1104.

Kynges/kings: 125, 207, 645, 658, 1119.

Kyssen/kissen: 927. To kiss. See: Clyppen.

L

Lambe/lambe: 98, 1363. Lamb. Figuratively Christ.

Lamuall/Lamual: 434. Taken by Wotton to be Sir Launval, one of the knights of King Arthur's Round Table.

Land. See: Londe.

Largesse/largesse: 511. Liberality, bountifulness.

Larson/larson: 323. Larceny.

Latte/latte: 457. Led.

Lawe/lawe: 357, 363. God's true law in contrast to canon law.

Lawe/lawe: 946, By lawe/by lawe: 37, Goddes lawe/Gods law: 1239

Lawes/lawes: 257. Ecclesiastical or canon law.

Moyses lawe/Moyses lawe: 701. Biblical law in contrast to canon

law.

Lawe/lawe: 638, Kynges lawe/kings law: 645. Laws of England.

Lay, lay fee/lay fee: 686, 741. *Plowman's Tale* cited. See: Fee.

Lechery/lecherie: 285, 515. Habitual indulgence of lust, lewdness of living.

Lecherous/lecherous: 799.

Ledde/lead: 160. Lead. (Metal)

Lede/lede: 736.

Lele/lele: 755. Leal. Loyal, faithful, honest, true.

Lemman/lemman: 883, 973. Lemmens/lemmans: 338. A person beloved by one of the opposite sex. In bad sense, one who is loved unlawfully.

*Lered, to lered and to leude/to lered and to leude: 754. Learned.
Lered and Lewed: Clergy and layfolk.

Lese/lese: 689. To leese, became synonymous with lose. To part with or be parted from by misadventure.

*[Leude]/leaud: 32, leude/leaud: 147, leude/leud: 401, leude/leude: 754. Unlearned, unlettered, untaught; belonging to the lower orders; common, low, vulgar, 'base.' *Lered and Lewed: Clergy and Layfolk.*
Leude mannes/leud mans: 970. Lewde people/leud people: 901.

Leueth/leueth: 440. Believeth.

Leuyn/leuin: 450, leuyn/leuen: 895. To believe in, on, up, upon; also, to trust, give credence to a person or thing.

[Lige]/Ligge: 4. Lie, repose.

*Lollers/lollers: 73, 88. (A) Loller: From to loll: to hang down loosely, to droop, dangle. Idlers, neerdowells. *Lacchedrawere: One who causes the latch to be drawn or lifted in order to beg, defraud, rob. Examples couple the word with 'lollers.'*

(B) Lollard: mumblor, mutterer. (1) Usually it was taken to connote great pretensions to piety and humility, combined with views more or less heretical. (2) A name of contempt given in the 14thc. to certain heretics who were either followers of Wyclif or held opinions similar to his.

Londe/lond: 678.

In londe/in londe: 742. In euery londe/in euery lond: 616. In this lande/in this land: 686. On londe/in lond: 1138. Londelese/londlese: 73. Landless.

Longeth/Longeth: 965. Belong.

Lorde/lord: 621, 808, 860. Christ.

Lordes body/Lords body: 1160, 1217. Eucharistic bread.

Lorde/lord: 393, 736, 738, 997. Lay lord.

Lordes/lords: 154, 181, 273, 303, 398, 530, 678, 688, 698, 700, 1119. Lay lords, members of the nobility.

Lordly/lordly: 509, 1018, lordlych/lordliche: 1052.

Lordship/lordship: 242, lordshyp/lordship: 694, lordshippe/lordship: 1012, lordshyppe/lordship: 1108, lordshyp/lordship: 1119, lordshippe/lordship: 1128. Rule, jurisdiction, power of a lord.

Lordshyppes/lordships: 176; lordshippes/lordships: 687, 702, 704, 706, 1009.

Lore/lore: 607. Tuition, education.

Lorell/lorell: 374, 1139. Worthless person, rogue, blackguard.

Losell/losell: 1276. Worthless person, profligate, rake.

Losengery/losengerie: 635. Flattery, deceit.

Louely/louely: 1270. Lourly, lowerly. Of persons, their eyes, countenances, etc. To frown, scowl; to look angry or sullen.

[Lout]/Lout: 23, 181. To bend, bow, make obeisance.

Lowe/low: 119, 124, 1375. Lower/lower: 860. Lowlyche/lowliche:

103. loly/lowly: 558.

Lowlynesse/lowliness: 509, lowelynesse/loweliness: 1186.

Lucifere/Lucifer: 119, 124, 380, Lucifarre/Lucifarre: 381,

Lucifer/Lucifer: 464, Lucifere/Lucifere: 833, 937, 1306. Literally, the Lightbearer. Satan, the Devil.

Lure/lure: 88. Apparatus used by falconers to recall hawks.

Something which allures, entices, tempts.

Lust/Lust: 41, 1090. Pleasure, delight. Lusty/lusty: 434. Joyfully, merrily.

Lyberall/liberall: 799. Generous.

Lyche/liche: 1108. Like. See 1532, wreched lyche, 1203.

Lye/lie: 834. Tell untruths.

Lyfe/life: 238, 753, 1126, 1146. Condition of being alive.

Lykely/likely: 1303. Alike.

Lykenesse/likenesse: 910. Resemblance or similarity.

Lykyng/Liking: 1018. Pleasure, enjoyment.

Lyste/list: 640; lyst/list: 1170. Be pleasing to.

Lyte/lite: 713. Little.

Lyue/Liue: 786, 1135, 1169, 1170, 1175, 1189; on lyue/on liue: 1223. Alive.

Lyueth/Liue: 827. Lyuyng/liuing: 826, 1019, 1020, 1299.

[Lyuelod]/Liuelood: 34. Livelihood. Means of maintaining life, sustenance.

M

Maister/master: 378.

Maisters/maisters: 322, 1115, 1116;

Maistry/Mastry: 801, maistry/mastrie: 900, Maistry/Maistrie: 1117,

Mastery. The state or condition of being master, controller, or ruler; authority, sway, dominion.

Mastry/mysterie: 1219. Mysically, mysteriously. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Maysterfully/maisterfully: 656

Maystershypp/Maistership: 1123.

Male/Male: 145. Bag, pack or wallet.

Malyce/malice: 1016. Badness, wickedness.

Man/man: 130, 154, 289, 543, 563, 598, 647, 834, 884, 944, 950, 965, 984, 997, 1012, 1023, 1069, 1072, 1081, 1136, 1141, 1151, 1167, 1176, 1286, 1365, 1372, 1378.

Man mortall/man mortal: 450; synfull man: 548.

Mannes/mans: 972, mannes/mens: 1172. Leude mannes/leud mans: 970.

Manace/manace: 1370. Threat, action of threatening.

Manere/manere: 149, 439, 994. Method of action, mode of procedure.

Manner, dewe manere/due mannere: 1210. In churlyche manere/in churchliche manner: 1051;

Manner men/manner men: 484. Manere of foules/manner of foules: 1331.

Manna/manna: 784. Substance miraculously supplied as food to the Children of Israel in the wilderness.

Marchandry/marchandry: 800. Merchandry. Trade, commerce; the business of a merchant.

Marchantes/merchants: 177.

Marshall/marshall: 378. Marshal. Military commander.

Mary/Mary: 902. Mary, the Virgin, mother of Jesus.

Masse/masse: 949, 975, 979, 1007. Eucharistic service.

Mastlyng/mastling: 187. Maslin: a mixed grain. Figuratively, a mixture, medley.

Mater/matter: 89, matter/matter: 857; Matters/matters: 962. Constituent material.

Matyns/matins: 789. One of the canonical hours; properly midnight but sometimes at daybreak.

Mauger/maugre: 886. From French, *malgré*. In spite of.

Maximyen/Maximian: 293. Maximian. Roman emperor who persecuted Christians. See: Nero.

Mayde/maid: 1361. Virgin, here, the Virgin Mary.

*Maynteyne/meintein: 968, maynteyne/maintaine: 1370. *Maintain: Aid or abet someone, especially wrongdoers, in a legal action, uphold.*

*Maynteynours/mainteinours: 302, maynteyners/maintainers: 801. *Maintenour: One who is guilty of maintenaunce.*

*Mayntenaunce/maintenance: 1256. *Maintenaunce.*

Meals, hungry meles/hungrie meales: 1036. See: Hungry.

*Measure/measure: 507. In measure/in measure: 89. *Mesure: Conduct in conformity with the principles of reason and justice: moderation. The fundamental concept of medieval jurisprudence.*

[Meate]/meat: 28, mete/meat: 152, 153, 784, 1000, 1003, 1139; Sory mete/sorie meat: 1044. Metes/meates: 149. Food in general, usually solid in contrast to drink.

*Mede/mede: 1082, 1247. Reward. Mede/mede: 944, 947. Reward dishonestly offered or accepted; corrupt gain, bribery. *Mede: Compensation for work or services, wages, salary, a gift, a bribe, any reward that is unearned or in excess of merit; hence, also the reward of salvation. Conceived of primarily in a legal context, Mede upsets the balance of justice..*

Medlers/medlers: 800. Meddle. To mix, mingle; to combine, blend, intersperse. To mix wares fraudulently.

Medlyng/medling: 871.

Meke/meeke: 96, meke/meke: 1310. Gentle, courteous, kind.

Mekenesse/meekenesse: 94, mekenesse/meekenesse: 502, mekenesse/mekenesse: 712, 1185, 1232.

Mekest/meekest: 99.

Membres/members: 1113. Part of the body, constituent part of anything.

Men/men: 111, 320, 567, 601, 653, 761, 801, 806, 850, 895, 897, 903, 909, 911, 952, 986, 1068, 1083, 1084, 1089, 1098, 1100, 1170, 1175, 1189, 1191;

*Men of lawe/men of lawe: 302. *Man of Lawe: One in the legal profession.* Men of warre/men of warre: 271.

Men, manner men/manner men: 484; myster men/mister men: 756.

Mennes/mens: 867, 877; mannes/mens: 1172, mennes/mens: 1290.

*Mercy/mercie: 94, mercy/mercy: 293, 492, 510, 532, 540, 596, 612, mercy/mercie: 1349. Forbearance and compassion shown by one person to another who is in his power and has no claim to receive kindness. *Merci: Pardon or clemency for a wrongdoer.*

Mercyable/merciabile: 96. Merciful, compassionate. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Messe/Messes: 783. A serving of food, a course of dishes.

Meynall/Veniall: 322. Meynall, 1532, pertaining to household, domestic. *Plowman's Tale* cited. Veniall, 1606, Worthy or admitting of pardon. Opposed to deadly sin.

Molles/moles: 1338. Bird of prey, not in *OED*.

Money/money: 145, 350, 367. 623, 664, 730, 736, 947, 1288.

Monke/monke: 997. Monkes/monkes: 63, 990, 1037, 1047. Member of community or brotherhood of men living apart from the world according to a rule.

Mouch/mouche: 947. To eat up, to eat greedily. First example in *OED*, 1570.

Mouche/much: 1016. Much. Greatly, largely.

Mouthe/mouth: 881. Mouth.

Moyses, Moyses lawe/Moyses lawe: 701. Moses' law. Not simply the ten commandments, but all the laws governing conduct, particularly in *Leviticus*.

Mused/mused: 89. Relected upon, contemplated.

Myght/might: 637, might/might: 896, 972, myght/might: 1190. Quality of being able to do, operative power.

Mynde/mind: 1076. Intelligence.

Mynsters/ministers: 189. Servants, attendants.

Mynstrals/minstrals: 315. Here, anyone whose profession was to entertain patrons.

Mysse manere/misse manere: 1197.

Mysqueme/Misqueme: 647. To displease, offend. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Myster men/mister men: 756. Men of all classes.

Mystere/mistere: 216. Occupation, trade.

Mysterie (1606): 1219. Mystically. *Plowman's Tale* cited. 1532, mastery.

Myter/Mitre: 1001. Myters/miters: 157. Miter. Headdress of bishops.

N

Nale, at the nale/at the nale: 870. Ale-house.

Name/name: 806.

Neddes (1532): 1112. Misprint for Heddes.

Nede/nede: 1084. Violence, force, constraint.

Nedely/nedely: 388. Necessarily, of necessity.

Nedy/Needie: 1086. Of persons, poor, indigent, necessitous.

Nelde/nelde: 780. Needle. As an object of trifling importance or value; hence, a particle. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Nero/Nero: 293, 1250. Roman emperor, d. A.D. 68, symbol of cruelty and debauchery, persecutor of the early Christians.

[Nought]/nought: 35, 746. For nought/for nought: 79. Ne nought/ne nought: 107 (verb).

Noughty/noughtie: 1097. Having or possessing naught; poor, needy. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Nully/fully: 1369. Nully, 1532, invalidly, of no legal or binding force.

Nygges/nigges: 757. Niggard. A mean, stingy, or parsimonious person, a miser. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

O

[Of drowe]/of drowe: 7. Drew off.

Offende/offend: 538. Sinned against God.

Offrende/offrend: 490.

Offryng/offering: 317, offryng/offring: 795, 885, 1107.

Offrynges/offerings: 905, offryngs/offrings: 1159.

Offreth/offreth: 916. Offren/offren: 1209.

*Offycers/officers: 343, 353, 659. *Officer: Officer of the court, judge..*

Olde/old: 916. Olde/olde: 424, 740, 1034.

Omnipotent/omnipotent: 212.

Ones/ones: 1253. Once, at one time.

Ones, at ones/at ones: 410. At one time, one day in future.

Order/order: 993, 1048. In ecclesiastical use, grade or rank within the Christian ministry.

Orders, make orders/make orders: 279. Ordain to the priesthood.

Orders, orders take/orders take: 837, taketh orders/taketh orders: 840.

Ordynauce/ordinance: 213. Decree.

Otherwyse/otherwise: 1244. If not; unless.

Ouches/ouches: 904, 1006. A clasp, buckle, fibula, or brooch, for holding together the two sides of a garment.

Outher/outher: 797. Otherwise, either. Introduces alternatives.

Outragyousnesse/outrageousnesse: 507. Fury, ferocity.

Owe/owe: 545. Ought.

Owle/owle: 1270.

P

Pall/pall: 106, in pall/in pall: 999. Old English *pall*, Latin *pallium*, rich cloth.

Papall/papall: 362. Papal, pertaining to the Papacy.

Parchement/parchement: 280, 663. Skin of sheep or goat, dressed and prepared for writing.

*Pardoners/pardoners: 327. Persons licensed to sell papal pardons or indulgences. *Pardoun: Remission of part or all of the temporal penalty in purgatory for sins already forgiven.*

Parysshe/parish: 751. The charge of a presbyter or priest. Township or cluster of townships having its own church and ministered to by its own priest.

Parysshens/parishens: 767. Parishioner. One of the community of a parish.

*Parlyament/parliament: 677. *Parlement: The king's council; parliament sitting as a court of law.*

Parsons/parsons: 63, 309, persons/parsons: 830. Holder of parochial benefice in full possession of its rights. See: Personage.

Pastoure/pastoure: 582. Pastor, shepherd in Latin. Metaphorically, shepherd of souls.

*Payne/Pain: 820. *Peine: Corporal or pecuniary punishment for a crime, sin or misdeed; the punishment of purgatory or hell.*
Putten us to payne/putten us to paine: 39. Judicial torture.

Paynted/painted: 894. See: ipaynt.

Pease/pease: 1163. Pea (vegetable.)

Pellycane/pellicane: 87, pellycan/pellicane: 93, pellycan/pellican: . 1109, 1177, 1245, 1329, 1367, pellycane/pellican: 1278, 1341, 1373, pellycan/pellican: 1357.

Penaunce/penaunce: 517. Repentance, penitence.

Pendauntes/pendaunts: 939. Something that hangs or is suspended.

Pende/pend: 650. Penned, shut up. See: Pynde.

Penny/pennie: 309, peny/pennie: 766, 768. Pennys/pennies: 167, pennyes/pennies: 178.

People/people: 70, 147, 175, 326, 481, 537, 551, 553, 665, 680, 755, 859, 1120, 1144, 1156, 1164, 1240, 1294, 1319, 1322, 1368;
 Christes people/Christis people: 165; leud people/leud people: 901
 poore people/poore people: 179, 734, 1030.

Permagall/Permagall: 130. Perequall, perenall. Equal. *Plowman's Tale* cited as "peringall" in *OED*.

Personage/personage: 269, 723. Personages/personages: 953.
 Parsonage. Benefice or living of a parson; a benefice. See: Parsons.

Peter: 365, 367, 373, 441, 443, 569, 570, 573, 581, 589, 590, 597, 599, 609, 610.

Peters: 66, 607. Peters heyre/Peters heire: 389. Peters key/Peters kay: 675, 892. Peters successours/Peters successours: 102, Peters successours/Peters successoure: 585, Peters successours/Peters successours: 603. Chief disciple of Jesus, but denied relationship when Jesus arrested.

Phenixe/phenix: 1343, 1346. Mythical bird of Arabia who burned self to ashes and was resurrected. Symbol of the risen Christ.

[Pilgrimage]/pilgrimage: 12, pylgrymage/pilgrimage: 908.

Play/plaie: 867. To sport amorously, to have sexual intercourse.

[Plat]/plat: 12. Of degree: entirely, quite, absolutely.

*Plede/plete: 85. *To contend legally, as to bring suit, argue a case, offer a defence.*

*Pledours/pleadours: 802. *Pledour: One who pleads in court, an advocate or a lawyer.*

[Plowe]/Plough: 1, [plow]/plow: 27, 453, 1042. Agricultural instrument used to prepare the soil for sowing or planting, by cutting furrows in and turning up the soil with a cutting blade (coulter). Pulled by oxen and guided by the plowman who keeps by blade forced downward. See: Plucked vp.

[Plowmanne]/plowman: 1. Agricultural laborer, who follows and guides the plow. First reference in *OED*, 1271. More skilled than

thresher or dyker. See: Honged at the Plow, Thresshyng, Dykyng.

[Plucked vp]/plucked vp: 1. See Wotton's footnotes, lines 1-24.

Pokes/pokes: 933. A bag; a small sack. A pocket worn on the person.

Ponyshed/punisheth: 141. See: Punyshementes.

Poore/poore: 69, 141, 259, 287, 336, 355, 457, 549, 551, 713, 739, 746, 909, 1027, 1085. Poore freres/poore freres: 127.

Poore in spyrite/poore in spirit: 915, 1131, poore in spirite/poore in spirit: 1182. Those who lack material goods and stand in need of spiritual blessings. See *Matthew 5:3*.

Poore parysshens/poore parishens: 767; poore people/poore people: 179, 734, 1030.

Poorely/poorely: 854.

Pope/pope: 389, 693, 696, pope/popes: 829, 971, 1085, 1093, 1163, 1178, 1225, 1229.

Popes/popes: 62; Popes: 85, 209, 454.

Port/porte: 1262. Deportment, carriage.

Portred/portred: 135. Painted, ornamented with pictures. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

*Possessyons/possessions: 687. *Possession: Property, especially landed property, or ownership of property; an endowment, benefice.*

Pounde/pound: 662. Currency.

Pouerte/pouerte: 430; Pouert/pouert: 782, pouert/pouert: 1034, pouerte/pouerte: 1232. Poverty.

Pouerty, Christes pouerte/Christ's pouerty: 1025.

*Powere/powere: 214, 525, 565, 639, 720. 835, 985, 996. *Power: Legal power or authority; licence, authorization.*

Poynt/point: 216, 218; poyntes/points: 362.

*Prayer/praiier: 414. *Preiere: A plea for mercy, pardon, or special favor.*

Prayse/praise: 1258.

Prease, out of prease/out of prease: 70. The condition of being crowded or thronged; a crowd, a throng.

*Prebends/prebends: 721. *Plowman's Tale* cited. *Provendre: The stipend of a member of a cathedral or collegiate church; also the land yielding revenue for such a stipend.*

Preche/preach: 45, 543, 549, 1238. Prechyn/preachen: 490, 545.

Precheth/Preacheth: 908.

Prechyng/preaching: 48. Sermon.

Preest/priest: 48, preeste/priest: 337, prest/prest: 745, prest/priest: 905, 973.

Christen preest/Christen priest: 545.

Preestes/priests: 102, 109, 247, 280, 481, 702, 804, 920, 933, 937, 1122.

Priests, Antichristes preestes/Antichrists priests: 956. Goddes prestes/gods priests: 888. Parysshe preestes/parish priests: 214.

Prelates/prelates: 62, 414, 960, 1093. Ecclesiastical dignitary of exalted rank and authority; bishop, archbishop.

Prince/prince: 999. Sovereign, ruler, monarch, king.

Principall/principall: 442. First in rank or importance.

Priours/priours: 64. Superior officer of religious house. In abbey, next under the abbot. In house of friars, superior.

Priories/priories: 262. Monastery or nunnery, generally offshoot of abbey. House of canons regular.

Prison/prysone: 559, 642, 650.

Procuratour/procuratour: 733. Official agent of church or religious house. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Proude/proud: 106, 758, 797, 854, 939, 999, 1015, 1323,
proude/proude: 833, proud/proud: 381. Proudly/proudly: 165, 894.

Proue/proue: 661. To establish the genuineness and validity of a will,
to obtain probate. First citation *OED*, 1439.

Pull, to pull/to pull: 179, 1329. To strip a sheep of wool or a bird of
feathers.

Pulpyt/pulpit: 48. Raised structure from which a preacher delivers a
sermon.

Punishementes/punishments: 520. See: Ponyshed.

*Purchase/purchase: 269, 395, 741, 745. Purchaseth/purchaseth: 905.
Purchased/purchased: 639. *To acquire (land) by money, gift, or other
legal means; 'purchased land,' acquired property as opposed to an
inherited estate. To buy or acquire in general.*

Purgacioun/Purgation: 342. Purification from corruption. Canonical
purgation: affirmation on oath of his innocence by the accused in a
spiritual court, confirmed by the oath of several of his peers.

Putry/Putree: 287. Putery. Unchastity, harlotry, prostitution.

Puttockes/puttocks: 1338. A bird of prey, usually applied to the kite
or glede; sometimes to the common buzzard. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Pye/pie: 1334. Magpies.

Pyement ale/piement and ale: 432. Spiced ale.

Pykes/pikes: 930. Points on shoe. High style in the 15thc.

Pyll/pill: 355. To plunder, rifle, pillage, spoil.

Pylloure/pillour: 106. A. Pellure, fur. B. Pillar, detached vertical
support (Wotton's suggestion.)

Pynde/pin'd: 481. Shut up, enclosed. See: Pende.

Pyrrey/Perrie: 159. Precious stones or gems collectively.

Q

Quenes/Queenes: 159. Queen's.

Queynte/Queint: 40. Quenched.

Queynt/Queint: 1013. Skillfully made, fine, dainty.

Quayntly/quaintly: 186. Skillfully, cleverly.

Queyntyse/queintise: 627. Cunning, craft, underhand dealing.

Quicke/quick: 738. Alive, as opposed to dead.

R

Race, to race/to race: 1274. Scratch or tear, cut or slash.

Ranke/ranke: 407. Proud, haughty.

*Raunsone/raunsome: 320, 345; raunsom/raunsome: 655.

Raunsounde/raunsound: 655. *Raunsoun: The action of procuring the release of a prisoner by the payment of a certain sum. In law the idea of ransom is closely associated with that of grace.*

*Rauynour/rauinour: 735, rauynere/rauinere: 1318. *Ravener: One who ravens or takes goods by force; robber, plunderer, despoiler.*

Rauyns/rauins: 1334. Ravens (birds.)

Realme/realme: 697. Kingdom.

Recke/recke: 674, 770, recke (1606): 1268. To take heed or have a care of something or person, so as to be alarmed or troubled thereby.

Rede/rede: 561, 739, reed/reede: 1079, rede/rede: 1218. To advise or counsel a person.

Rede/read: 415. Read.

Regall/202: 202. Royal, pertaining to prince or ruler. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Relygyoun/Religion: 1010, relygion/religion: 1040, relygioun/religion: 1041, 1064.

Relygions/Religious: 685. Religions, 1532, rhymes, but religious, 1606, makes more sense. Relygyous/religious: 1019.

[Religiouslyche]/Religiousliche: 23. In the manner of a "religious" person, in accordance with monastic rule. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Remenant/remenaunt: 770. The rest or remainder of a number of persons or things; the others.

Rend, to rend (1606): 594. Substituted by Wotton for "untrend," uncleaned wool.

*Rent/rent: 281, rente/rent: 769. *Rente: Payment made periodically by a tenant to a landlord.*

Rentall/rentall: 474. Income arising from rents received. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Rent, [To rent]/to rent: 20. Torn.

Reprehende/reprehend: 610. Reprove, reprimand.

Riatours/riotours: 281. One who leads a disorderly or licentious life, reveller.

Rightwise/right wise: 361.

*Ryghtwysnesse/rightwisnesse: 1125, rightwysenesse/rightwisenesse: 1264. *Rightwisnesse: Justice, especially the principle or action of strict adherence to the law.* See: Ryght.

*Robben/souen: 1304. 1532, Robben, refers to predatory nature of birds. *Robben: To take from another person against his will.* 1606, Souen, refers to lesser birds which follow the Griffon.

Rokes/rokes: 1334. Rooks (birds.)

Roode/roode: 256, rode/roode: 1294. Cross upon which Christ suffered, crucifix.

Rose floure/rose floure: 752.

Route/Route: 183. An attendant company, suite, retinue, train.

Royall/royal: 183, royall/royall: 550, 565, 1003, god royall/god royall: 459, royall relygyoun/royal religion: 1010. See: Regall.

Rufull/rufull: 1351. Exciting sorrow or compassion.

Rule/rule: 202, 619, 1079.

Ryght/right: 1192. Rightes/rights: 519. See: Rightwise.

Rynge/ring: 1001. Rynges/rings: 904.

S

Sacrament/sacrament: 1179. Sacraments/sacraments: 832, sacramentes/sacraments: 943, 1193, sacramentes/Sacraments: 1204. Ritual observance of the church, particularly Eucharist and Baptism. Seuyn sacraments/seuen sacraments: 855, 875, 1157. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, Matrimony.

Sadde/sad: 1089. Sated, weary or tired of something.

[Saint Thomas]/Saint Thomas. See: Thomas.

Sale/sale: 142, sette at sayle/set at saile: 875. Sette vp to sale/set vp to sale: 1198. The action or an act of selling.

Sanctissimus/sanctissimus: 230. Latin. Most holy, holiest.

Sanctus deus/sanctus deus: 229. Latin. Holy god.

Sathan/Sathan: 600, 605, 824, 1208; Sathanas/Sathanas: 772. Hebrew *Adversary*. Proper name of the Devil, which see.

Sawe/sawe: 359, 641. Sawes/sawes: 632. Command, authoritative teaching.

Say/Saie: 816, 864. What a person says; words as compared with actions.

Sayd/said: 1282.

Sayntes/Saints: 117. From Latin *sanctus*, holy. Prefixed to name of canonized person.

[Scrip]/Scrippe: 13. Small bag, wallet, or satchel, especially one carried by pilgrim. Often, as here, with "staff."

*Seales/seales: 328, 657. Device impressed into piece of wax; evidence of authenticity. *Sele*.

*Sect/sect: 231; secte/sect: 1235. Party or faction. Wyclif uses it as if orders, particularly mendicant orders, were a new religion, competing with the sect of Christ. *Jack Upland* cited. *Secte: The 'following' of a party involved in litigation. A retinue, company of followers, followers of a particular patron or belief.*

*Seculere/seculere, chanons that men clepen seculere/chanons that men clepen seculere: 718. Secular, of or pertaining to the world. Of members of the clergy, not in monastic seclusion. *See: Canon*.

Seeds (1606). Seeds, referring to seeds sown on ground.

Seke/seke: 1313. Sick.

Seker/seker: 625, syker/siker: 1268. Assured, certain.

Sely/silly: 695, 1312. Deserving of pity, compassion, or sympathy; helpless, defenseless.

Semeth/seemeth: 221, 1104. To be suitable to, befit, beseem.

[Senged]/senged: 19. Singed. Here sunburned.

Sentence/sentence: 169. Authoritative decision.

Sewe (1606). To sue, to follow. Sewys/Sewis: 231; Sewen/sewen: 608, 613, 843.

Sewe/sow: 55. Sown (seeds). Sewen/sewen: 776.

Shede/Shede: 275. To part with a possession.

Shende/shend: 485, 562, shende/shende 850. To blame, reprove.

Shenden/shenden: 1312. To destroy, ruin, bring to destruction.

Shent/Shent: 24, 259, 825. To be destroyed, ruined.

Sheperde/Shepherd: 583, 592, 593. Sheperdes/shepherds: 576, 577, 676.

Shepe/sheepe: 426, 435, 573, 575, 576, 578, 579, 586, 593, 707, 715, 1092, Christes shepe/Christ's sheepe: 1280. Sheep, all uses figurative. Ordinary Christians who are misused by the Pope, their shepherd.

Shyppes/shepes: 282.

Sheth/sheath: 571. Sheath.

Shewe/Sewe: 1248. 1532, Shewe, to show falsehood. 1606, Sewe, to follow falsehood.

Shone/shone: 930. Shoes.

Showe/show: 461. Shoes.

Shoure/shoure: 587. Shower.

Shriue/Shriue: 866, shryue/shriue: 1211. Shriues/shriues: 289. To impose penance upon a person; hence, to administer absolution to, to hear the confession of.

Shrifte syluer/shrift siluer: 941. Shrift-silver. A fee paid for receiving absolution. *Reply of Father Daw Topias*. "The parochie preest, Jacke... that nyl not... assoilen hem of her synne withouten schrift silver."

Shyllnynges/shillings: 670. Coinage, 12 (silver) pence to a shilling, 20 shillings to a pound.

Shyre/shire: 279, 952.

Simony/simonie: 261. From Simon Magus, in allusion to his offer of money to the Apostles. *Acts 8:18-19*. The act or practice of buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices or emoluments.

Sith/sith: 100. Since.

Sithe/sith: 1307. Then, subsequently.

Skall/Skall: 282. Scald, afflicted with the 'scall,' scabby.

Skere/skere: 987. Pure, purified; cleansed or free from sin or guilt. *Plowman's Tale* only example cited.

Slye/slie: 249, 1158. Of persons: skilled, knowing, wise.

Smere/smere: 282. Smeren/smeren: 707. To smear, to apply ointment to sores.

[Snout]/snout: 19. Projecting part of head, including nose and mouth. Usually used of animal.

Soiournant/soiournaunt: 772. A sojourner, a visitor or guest. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Solace/solas: 150. Here, pleasure, enjoyment, amusement.

*Sompnours/sompnours: 325. *Somnour: Apparitor, an officer who summons defendants to an ecclesiastical court (mainly for moral offences)*.

Sompnyng/sompning: 880.

Sorcery/sorcerie: 891. Use of magic or enchantment, witchcraft.

Sothe/Sooth: 171, sothe/sothe: 825, 851, sothe/soth: 1179,

Sothe/sooth: 1218. Sothnesse/soothnesse: 626. Truth.

Sothfastnesse/sothfastnesse: 305. Truth, veracity.

Souble/Soukle: 58. Souble, 1532, variant of supple? *Plowman's Tale* cited. Soukle, 1606, suckle, clover, lambsuckle, honeysuckle.

Souen. Robben/souen: 1304. Robben, 1532, refers to predatory nature of birds. Souen, 1606, to lesser birds which follow the Griffon. See: Sewe.

Soukle: 58. (1606). See: Souble.

Soule/soule: 408, 674, 729, 907, 988, 1193. Soules/soules: 472, 731, 1312, 1313. Principle of thought and action in man, commonly regarded as entity distinct from body.

*Soyle/soile: 986. Assoil, which see. *Assoil*.

Space/space: 1378.

Spare/spare: 727

Spirit, poore in spyrite/poore in spirit: 915, 1131, 1182.
See: Poore.

Spyces/spices: 155.

Staffe/staffe: 9, 159. Stick carried in the hand as aid in walking.

Stall/stall: 223. Seat. Wyne stale/wine stale: 873. A stand for a cask.

Stall/stall: 266. Row of seats in the choir of a church for the use of the clergy.

Stedes/steedes: 54. An inhabited place; a city, town, village.

*Stele/steale: 810. Steal. Stale/stale: 618. *Stelen: To take feloniously the personal property of another without his leave and consent..*

Sterne/sterne: 53. Stubbornly contested, fierce, hard.

Sterre/sterre: 969. Star.

*Stewards/stewards: 802. *Stiward: The chief official in the household of a lord; one who transacted the legal and financial business of a manor on behalf of the lord, including the holding of the manor court.*

Stocke or stone/stock or stone: 893; Stockes/stockes: 897. Stock: a tree-trunk deprived of its branches, a stump. Applied contemptuously to an idol or sacred image: Chiefly in the phrase stocks and stones, gods of wood and stone.

Stounde/stound: 54. State of stupefaction or amazement.

Stoute/stout: 699. Proud, fierce, brave, resolute.

Strongly/strongly: 867. Forcibly, violently.

Sturte/sturt: 868. To contend, make trouble with. *Plowman's Tale* only example cited.

Styroppes/stirrops: 187. Stirrups.

Subgette/subget: 1222. Substance of which a thing consists or from which it is made. See: Accident.

Successor, Peters successour/Peters successoure: 585.

Successours/successours: 369, 581, 589; Peters successours/Peters successours: 66, 102, 603. All references to Pope as successor to St. Peter.

Succour/succour: 539. Help, aid, assistance.

Sufferaunce/suffraunce: 503, suffraunce/suffrance: 518. Patient endurance, forbearance, longsuffering.

Suffre/suffer: 1267. To endure.

[Swet]/swette: 29; [swette]/swette: 34. Sweat.

[Swinke]/swinke: 29, 34. Toil.

Sword/sword: 246, swerde/sword: 574, swerde/sword: 575, 578, 583. Swerdes/swords: 566, 917. Sword.

Swyre/swire: 1236. Neck.

Sydes/Seeds: 55. Sydes, 1532, refers to two sides of the debate;

Seeds, 1606, to the seeds sown on the ground.

Sye/sie: 765. See.

Syke/sicke: 740. Sick.

Syluer/siluer: 211, 470. Silver.

Symple/simple: 58, 249. Free from duplicity, open, straightforward.

Synne/sinne: 368, 776, 976. Synnes/sinnes: 1313. Sin (Noun).

Synne/sinne: 197. To commit sin.

Synfull/sinfull: 462. Sinfull person. Refers to sinfull woman who washed Christ's feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, and anointed them with precious ointment. Generally identified with Mary Magdalen. See *Luke 7:37-50*. Synfull man/sinfull man: 548.

Synfully/sinfully: 1090

Syttynges/sittings: 113. Order or place of sitting, exercising judicial, legislative or deliberative function.

T

[Tabarde]/tabard: 9. Upper garment without sleeves.

Tabyde/tabide: 777. To abide, wait, stay, remain.

Tale/tale: 52, 147. Long narratives.

*Tale/tale: 1200. *Tale: The plaintiff's account in a legal suit.*

Tales/tales: 506, 1143. Teachings.

Teche/recke: 1268. Teache, 1532, teach. Recke, 1606, take heed or care of someone.

Temporell/temporell: 1322. Worldly, temporary.

Tenaunce/tenaunce: 1022. Tenure, land holding.

Tents (1506). See: Entents/tents: 1159.

*Testament/testament: 661. *Testament: A document recording a person's wishes on the disposition of his personal property after death..*

Thanke, erthly thanke/thanke: 405. Reason.

Thomas, [Saint Thomas]/Saint Thomas: 11. Saint Thomas à Becket, whose shrine at Canterbury is the goal of the pilgrimage.

Thrall/thrall: 122, 1350. Slave, bondman. Thralles/thrals: 41. Come thrall/come thrall: 177. Become a slave.

Thresshyng/threshing: 1043. To thrash or thresh, to separate grains of cereal from the husk and straw, especially by beating with a flail.

Threte/threte: 989. Try to force.

Throweth (1606): 258. Wotton's substitute for *choweth*, which see.

Thynke/thinke: 777, thynke/thinken: 1070.

Thynketh/thinketh: 555, 808, 981.

Token/token: 541, 544; Tokenyng/tokening: 99. Representation.

Tole/toole: 575. Tool.

Tole/tole: 375. Toll. Tax, tribute, impost.

Tote/Tote: 74; They toteth on her somme totall/They toteth on her somme totall: 418. From Latin 'tot pecuniae Regi debentur.' To mark an item in a tax list with the word 'tot' to indicate that the amount had been levied and accounted for. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

*Towne/toun: 1012; towne/toune: 1043; Fro towne to towne/fro toune to toun: 344. Towns/tounes: 719, townes/tounes: 927. Farmstead or homestead. *Plowman's Tale* cited. *Town: The enclosed land surrounding or belonging to a single dwelling; a manor.*

Traueyle/trauaile: 79, 422, trauall/trauall: 426, trauayle/trauaile: 1081, 1286. Trauaylen/trauailen: 1033. Torment, distress, trouble.

*Tray/tray: 621, to tray/to traie: 808. Trayen/Traien: 623. Betray. Traytour/Traitour: 123; Traytours/traitors: 619, traytours/traiteurs: 804, 1063. Traitor, betrayer. *Tresoun: Any action of deceit or treachery. Tretour: One who is faithless, either to another that trusts him or to a duty entrusted to him.*

*Treachery/trecherie: 195, 512. *Trecherie: The violation of faith, fealty, or truth.*

Trespace/trespace: 1290. Transgression, offence, sin.

Trewe/true: 868. Honest, virtuous.

Trowe/trowe: 232, 841, 995, 1199, 1205. Trust, have confidence, believe in.

Trusse/trusse: 750. Trust.

Turpe lucrum/turpe lucrum: 321. (Latin) Base, shameful, filthy riches. *1 Timothy 3:8.*

Tyffelers/tifflers: 195. A trifler, idler. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Tyllour/tillour: 453, tyllers/tillers: 868.

Tyrannie/tyrannie: 192, 1265.

*Tythes/tithes: 490. *Tithe: One-tenth part of annual produce of agriculture, livestock, net income, etc. for support of the clergy.* Tythyng/tithing: 317, tithyng/tithing: 321, 323, tythyng/tithing: 795, tithyng/tithing: 861, tythyng/tithing: 885. Tithinges/tithings: 1159. *Tithen/tithen: 1209. *Tithen: To pay tithes.*

U, written as V

Vngoodly/Vngodly: 387. Vngoodly, 1532, misprint.

Vngratious/vngracious: 387. Of persons: devoid of spiritual grace; graceless, reprobate, wicked.

Vnground/on ground: 57. See: Ground.

Vnholde/vnhold: 473. Unfaithful, disloyal; false. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Vnneth/vnneth: 789; unnethes/unnethes: 311. Unless.

Vnright/vnright: 1071. Vnrightfullyche/Unrightfulliche: 1201.

Vnshrive/vnshriue: 751. Unshrived. To die without the last rites, especially chance for confession and absolution. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Vnsounde/vnsound: 56. Here, morally corrupt.

Vnstable/vnstable: 807.

Vntall/Vntall: 74. Quick, prompt, ready, active. *Plowman's Tale* only use cited.

Vntrend/to rend: 594. Untrend, 1532, uncleaned wool, not recognized by Wotton.

V, written as U

Uengeable/uengeable: 805. Inclined or ready to take vengeance or inflict retaliative injury.

Uengeaunce/Uengeaunce: 1250, uengeaunce/vengeaunce: 1348.

Ueniall (1606): 322. Worthy or admitting of pardon, opposed to deadly or mortal sin.

Uerament/uerament: 1224. Really, truly.

Uessell/uessell: 1130. Uessels/uessels: 1106.

Uestement/uestement: 278, uestement/uestiment: 934. Ceremonial garment. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Uouch/uouch: 945. To cast responsibility of something on a person.

Plowman's Tale cited.

*Uycare/uicare: 830. Vicarye. *Plowman's Tale* cited. *Vicari: One who takes the place of, or acts instead of, another; a person acting as priest in a parish in place of the real priest or rector.*

W

Wage/wage: 271. Pay wages to.

Wake/wake: 869. The local annual festival of an English parish.

Walke/walke: 486. To journey, to move about, especially on foot; of crime, vice or virtue, to be rife, spread abroad.

Wall/wall: 298. Here, well of water.

[Wang toth]/wang tooth: 16. A molar tooth.

Warant/warrant: 945. Warrant.

Wede/wede: 211. An article of apparel, a garment. Clothing, raiment, dress.

Wele/wele: 602, 812. Wealth, riches, possessions. Often world, world's, worldly weal.

Wenches/wenches: 286. Girls, maids, young women.

Wene/wene: 786. Weneth/weneth: 980. In respect to what is future or contingent; to expect, anticipate, count on.

Wepen/wepen: 1092. Weapon. An instrument of any kind used in warfare or in combat to attack and overcome an enemy.

Werre/werre: 968. War.

Wete/weate: 1035. Wet.

Weten/weten: 851, wetyn/weten: 1206. To have cognisance of, to

know. See: Wust.

Why/why: 957. Reason, cause.

[Wist]/Wist: 31. Wyse/wisse: 235. To wete/to wete: 242. From verb to wit. To be aware of; with person as object, to give directions to or instruct; to warn; to learn. Wyteth/witeth: 1373.
Wysten/wisten: 624.

Withsay/withsay: 599. Contradict, deny.

Witte/wit: 370, witte/witte: 780. The understanding or mental faculties in respect of their condition. See: Wytlesse.

Wlate/wlate: 1098. To loathe, to abhor. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Wode/wood: 299, wood/wood: 399, 764, 1075, wode/wood: 1269.
Out of one's mind, insane, lunatic, mad.

Wolle/wull: 177, woll/wooll: 594. Wool.

Wolues/wolues: 1092.

Wombe/Wombe: 144, 151. Belly.

Women/women: 909.

Wonder/wonders: 699. Wondrous.

Wonneth/wonneth: 1140. To wont. To dwell habitually.

Worch/worch: 411, worche/werch: 486, werche/werch: 1103,
worche/worch: 1244. To work; to perform, execute.
Worcest/worcest: 902.
Workes/workes: 1102.

Worde/word: 206, 1282.

Goddess worde/gods word: 488, 810. Goddis wordes/gods words:
1187.

Worlde/world: 557, 992.

Worldes thanke/worlds thanke: 411. Worldes goodes/worlds goods: 839. Worldes hate/worlds hate: 1257. Worldes wele/worlds wele: 602, 812.

Worldly/worldly: 115.

Worshyppe/worship: 115, 1098, worship/worship: 228.

Worshypped/worshipped: 206.

Worshypfully/worshipfully: 1102.

Worsted, double worsted/double worsted: 1002. From Worstead, parish of Norfolk. Best quality woven wool cloth.

Woundes fyue/wounds fyue: 243. The five wounds of Christ.

Woundes wete/wounds wete: 467.

Wrall/Wral: 370. To wreathe, wind, or twist. Here, figurative. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Wranglen/wranglen: 526. To dispute angrily, contend. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Wrathe/wrath: 775.

Wreched lyche/wrechedliche: 1203.

Wreches/wretches: 299, wreches/wretches: 764.

Wrestlyng/wrastling: 869.

Write/write: 1024, 1070, 1283. Wrytyng/writing: 1358, wrytyng/writing: 1366, 1367, wrytyng/writings: 1359.

Wro/wro: 81. A nook or corner; a retired or sheltered spot. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Wust/wust: 1092. From to wite. To keep safe, guard, preserve, defend.

Wydowes/widowes: 286. Widows.

Wyfe/wife: 30. Wyues/wiues: 286; mennes wyues/mens wiues: 867, 877.

Wylde of wyll/wild of will: 399. Unruly, unsubordinate, self-willed, implying reproach.

Wyllers/willers: 228, 780. One who wills. Special use: One who desires, a wisher. *Plowman's Tale* cited.
Wylfulness/wilfulness: 505.

Wynne/Winne: 199. To get, obtain, acquire. Wynnyng/winning: 522, 812.

Wyse/wise: 624. Way.

Wyse/wise: 1196. Full of wisdom.
Wysedome/wisdome: 505.

Wytche/witch: 891. Witch.

Wytlesse/witlesse: 528. See: Witte.

Y, See also G and I

Yall/yall: 386, 1355. To yawl, howl.

Yates, of heuyn and helle...the yates/of heauen and hell...the yates: 65; hell yates/hell yates: 419. Gates.

Ydampned/ydamned: 1243. Damned. *Plowman's Tale* cited.

Ydight/ydight: 1002. Put in order, prepare food. See: Dight.

Yef/yef: 957. Yaf/yafe: 693. To give.

*Yere/yeare: 655. All the yere/all the yere: 672, 982. By yere/by yeare: 657. *Yere: Figuratively, the life of a contract.*

Ykende/ykende: 530. See: Kende.

Ymage/image: 906. Yimages/images: 913.

Ynomen/inomen: 1031. To nim. To take, to take in.

Yonge/young: 740, 1034.

Yore/yore: 1175. Long time ago.

Yuell/iuel: 339, yuel/Euil: 519, yuell/euill: 844, 1372 (adj.),
yuell/euill: 521, 1297, 1307 (noun), yuel/euill: 228, yuell/euill: 865.
Evil. Yuell/euill: 1040. Evilly (adverb).